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Disarmament Supplement

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THE Cabinet having decided that Ministers have the constitutional right to fight either on their own side or for the Opposition as they feel conscientiously disposed, the meeting of Parliament next week is awaited with unusual interest. We are to have a battle about tariffs, but, as Sir Herbert Samuel and the other dissentient Free Trade Ministers (Free Trade but not opponents of anti-dumping regulations) are above all anxious not to embarrass the Government to which they still belong, it will presumably be a gentlemanly affair. How long such a situation can last, no one knows. All but the highest and most imperial of Protectionists among the Conservatives are pleased enough: they have exploited the votes and the goodwill of Liberalism in order to get tariffs and it now matters little to them whether the Liberal Ministers remain nominally in or nominally out of the Government. The pretence of National Government is nearly over: a Tory majority means, as we have always insisted, a Tory Government.

* * *

What will be the line taken by the dissident members of the Cabinet? Will they tell us that the tariff is not intended to be permanent? Or that, in spite of the big battalions behind them, its real object is to enable the Government to bargain for tariff reductions in Europe? Will they—as some anticipate—wash their hands of the whole business on a second reading statement of policy, and, having done so, retire from further participation in the battle; or will they oppose the tariff at every stage and with all the resources of the Parliamentary machine? The former course means a complete betrayal of Free Trade and economic sanity by the very people who were sent to Parliament to defend them. The latter, a development of constitutional procedure which would reduce the business of government to a mockery.

* * *

We are in any case to have a "general tariff." But how general? Iron and steel are said to be on the list, though some rumours say that this is not to apply over the whole of our imports of these goods, and there have been hints about a possible system of rebates on re-export. What about Empire preference? Some people say that preference is to be given, even in the case of the proposed low flat-rate "semi-revenue" duties; while others maintain that the whole question of preferences is to be held over till the Ottawa Conference, in order to give the Government more to bargain with when the Conference meets. It seems

to be accepted that the scheme includes differential duties much above the proposed flat rate, but that these are not to come into force at once. A "scientific" Tariff Commission—that hoariest of exploded devices—is, we are told, to be set up in order to take the question of the particular duties "out of politics," and also incidentally to help salve what is left of the consciences of the Free Traders in the Cabinet. The food duties are still a secret. Lord De La Warr broadly hinted this week to the farmers that they might expect a duty on imported milk. The question is whether Lord De La Warr spoke with, or without, real knowledge of the Cabinet's intentions. If our food is to be taxed, even the Prime Minister will not find it easy to reconcile his Government's action with the programme on which he fought the election.

* * *

The reparations question still hangs fire. The meeting between M. Laval and Mr. MacDonald, which was expected, not expected, and again expected, seems to be once more back at not expected. There is no agreement on the one thing the French want—the "united front" against Germany. Without that, M. Laval thinks, and we agree with him, the proposed meeting would be a waste of time. It is odd that any reasonably informed person in France should have supposed such a revival of the Entente Cordiale to be possible. Public opinion in this country is not only definite, but it has been made plain to all the world; the Young Plan has become a farce, and the prospect of its prolongation, or of a new scheme for badgering Germany, leaves us stone cold. We cannot unfortunately persuade the French that it is to their interest, as well as everyone else's, to make an end of the whole business. But we need not, and we shall not, on that account abandon our own convictions, and try to enforce a settlement which we do not believe in and which would not be a settlement at all. Whether the British Government could do anything on its own initiative at this stage seems very doubtful. And that being so, we must pin our hopes to a change of mind and policy in France after the general election in May. If there is the swing to the Left that is anticipated, a final settlement of reparations may be possible.

* * *

The League Council is sitting this week in Geneva, and its first and most urgent business is Manchuria. Its meetings, however, have been held in secret, and all we know is that it is continuing its exhortations to the Japanese and the Chinese to be good boys. But the main theatre of war (or should we say of "banditry"?) appears to have shifted to Shanghai. There the anger of the Chinese has shown itself in boycotts, insults and violence directed against the Japanese, and the Tokio Government demands instant redress. A small armada has arrived and, as we write, a landing is reported to be imminent, though this may be averted if the Chinese authorities abase themselves. America is roused, and there is talk of "strong action." What is our policy to be? We can hardly believe that the complaisance shown by the Foreign Office in the Manchurian affair will be extended to proceedings of this sort, which threaten not merely bits of paper like Covenants and Pacts but the solid material interests of the International Settlement at Shanghai and, indeed, British trade in other parts of China. The United States is counting on British co-operation in calling a halt to this aggression. Apart from any question of honour or decency, it will be rank bad policy to disappoint that expectation.

* * *

The decision of the Bank of England to repay the £30,000,000 still outstanding of the credits granted by the Federal Reserve and the Bank of France last summer shows that the strain on the exchanges is already a good deal less than it was even a month ago. The seasonal pressure of payments for imports from America is now over, and it has been known for some time that the Bank of England has been building up resources in Paris and New York in order to repay the loans as they fall due. The result is that this can now be done without further depleting the gold reserve, which has to be drawn upon for most of the £20,000,000 repaid at an earlier date. Of course, this repayment is by no means the end of the difficulties caused by our heavy borrowings last summer; the £80,000,000 borrowed with the Government's backing is still outstanding, and most of the British gold reserve is still in effect under mortgage. However, the Bank's ability to pay £30,000,000 without direct export of gold will increase foreign confidence in the pound, and may prepare the way for a reduction in Bank Rate in the near future. It has been made possible largely by the heavy export of gold from India; and if the Indian hoards continue to be released it should be possible for the Bank to build up fresh resources for further repayments. It is, however, a moot point how far the desire to do this gives sufficient warrant for the maintenance here of a Bank Rate that is clearly out of relation to the prevalent market rates of interest; and the business world is more and more disposed to urge that a reduction of interest rates should now take precedence over all other claims.

* * *

The trouble in Spain, though it is not yet over, has subsided in the last few days. The disorders that culminated early last week in the bloody affair at Bilbao had forced the Government to take stronger measures "for the defence of the Republic." These, however, did not prevent a further outbreak which at first looked graver than anything that had yet occurred. But the "revolution" came to no more than violent large-scale strikes, engineered by the Syndicalists, with such help as the feeble Communist Party of Spain could give them. The authorities, both in Catalonia and elsewhere, have acted energetically, and each tumult has so far been put down without great difficulty. The general struggle is of a triangular kind, in which the Socialists, Liberals and moderate Conservatives who support the Republic are engaged with the monarchist reactionaries on the one hand and with the extreme Left elements on the other. Religious passion still runs high, especially in the Basque districts—and a little higher since the recent decree for the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. But we do not believe the regime is in any real danger from the Right. The threat from

the Left is more serious, but against this the Socialists are the main rock of defence. They avow themselves Marxists, and they have their differences with the bourgeois parties; but they are not Leninists nor Bakuninists. And there is no sign that the great mass of Spanish workers and peasants want either another revolution or another constitution.

* * *

One reason for the failure of Prohibition enforcement in America is shown by the statistics of State expenditures in 1929. According to the Eighteenth Amendment it is the duty of the States to aid the Federal Government in enforcing Prohibition, and the Federal Government, spending as little as possible on this cause, has always insisted that the responsibility for enforcement rested chiefly on the States. Forty-two States have rigorous enforcement laws of their own; but in 1929 only twenty of them made any appropriation for the execution of their "dry" laws. No State appropriated as much as £30,000, and only six States as much as £10,000. More suggestive still, the home States of the three driest members of the Senate (Idaho, the home of Senator Borah; Iowa, the home of Senator Brookhart; and Texas, the home of Senator Sheppard) made no appropriation at all. And all the States together spent one-eighth as much on enforcing Prohibition as they spend on enforcing their fish and game laws.

* * *

This week the seamen and the tramway workers, following the example of the dockers, have both accepted further reductions in wages; and several other important groups of transport workers are negotiating with the prospect of having to acquiesce in a lowering of their rates. It is by this time clear that the employers in the "sheltered" trades are engaged in an energetic campaign to bring down the wages of their workers nearer to the wage-level already in force in the "unsheltered" industries. The argument, of course, is that this will serve to reduce costs for both groups alike, and so to improve the general prospect of profits. This is true enough; but it is also true that the fall in "sheltered" wage-rates will make it harder for the workers in the "unsheltered" trades to get their wages raised again if and when trade improves. Apart from the effects of the depreciation of sterling on the price level, British wage-rates are now beginning seriously to fall, as the level taken by the Government last year is followed in one industry after another. For the moment this may do a little to help exports; but it also serves to intensify the orgy of wage-cutting already in full swing on the Continent. How can wage-reductions offer any hope of escape from a crisis of "over-production"?

* * *

The ramp about the cost of the League of Nations still continues. It costs us £100,000 a year. This is less than the annual cost of Colney Hatch or of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is probably less than the cost of looking after the men whose minds were destroyed by the war. And when we inquire a little farther we discover that the League actually costs us just about nothing at all. For it was the League which brought about the financial reconstruction of Austria whose two million debt to us had been previously written off as a hopelessly bad one. Since the League took the matter in hand Austria has been paying us each year the whole annual cost of the League. And, if we are talking about wasteful expenditure, what of the £138,000 a year we now spend in research on chemical warfare? We have agreed to renounce both chemical warfare and research upon it, but we spend more on it than on the League, whose object is to prevent war —which we have also renounced.

* * *

In England we are not so used to prison revolts as they are in America, and the immediate lesson to be drawn from the Dartmoor affair is that we gain in security and in every other way by not providing the ordinary prison warders with firearms. At Dartmoor the outside warders who watch the felons (who are allowed to work outside the walls because it is permissible to shoot felons) had arms and prevented escapes. If there had been a supply of arms inside the prison we should have seen the usual American spectacle of the prisoners seizing arms, and, instead of a few hospital cases, we should have had a long death roll. The Assistant-Commissioner whose life was saved by Donovan, a reprieved murderer, may feel that there is something to be said for abolishing the death penalty. There has been the usual talk of the dangers of pampering and entertaining prisoners. Exactly the opposite inference is to be drawn from this revolt, since Dartmoor, because of its isolation, has been almost exempt from these modern methods of prison treatment. On the contrary we are likely to hear, when the inquiry is completed, that Dartmoor is a shockingly old-fashioned institution, badly in need of overhauling, and we may even before very long hear that another site and better methods are to be employed for these long-term offenders.

* * *

The celebration of Lewis Carroll's centenary seems strangely appropriate to our times. With better reason even than Wren, he can invite those seeking his memorial to take a good look round. The man who carried logic to the verge of lunacy would be very much at home in our world—where lunacy (one is tempted to say) has almost been reduced to terms of logic. "Less bread, more taxes" is a slogan from *Sylvie and Bruno*, and yet it has a very familiar look. "'What are tarts made of?' 'Pepper, mostly,' said the Cook." Just the Cook for a contemporary Foreign Office. And what of Humpty Dumpty, who could make words mean anything he wanted them to; and the White Knight, who invented a pudding that "began with blotting-paper" (which is where our political puddings seem to end); and the Carpenter, whose scheme for sweeping away the sands of the seashore has been so extensively plagiarised in the international field? It would probably give birth to a saner world if the rulers of the nations would reread *Alice* and then sit down to consider policies this side of the Looking Glass.

CONSTITUTIONAL NICETIES

THE ability to pronounce "British Constitution" correctly, has never seemed to us a sufficient test of political sobriety. And yet we begin to wonder whether even the sober *Times* is not seriously affected by the heady wine of patriotism when it describes the doctrine of collective responsibility in the Cabinet as one of the "niceties of constitutional procedure." Niceties! What word would the *Times* have used if the Labour Government had survived last autumn by deciding "to agree to differ" (the favourite phrase at the moment) about the imposition of a revenue tariff as a method of balancing the Budget and saving the pound and the balance of trade? Would it have been called a nicety of constitutional procedure if Mr. Snowden and other dissenting ministers had said—as was the case—that they differed on this matter from the majority of the Cabinet, but that, in view of the national emergency and the importance of not embarrassing the indispensable Mr. MacDonald, they would continue in office, draw their emoluments and yet preserve the right to speak and vote against the Government's proposals? What columns of sanctimonious thunder we should have seen! How Mr. Garvin would have poured out his Niagaras of wrath at this betrayal of our English traditions, this revolution carried out by a Labour Prime Minister! But Mr. MacDonald is no longer a Labour Prime Minister. He is a national hero, beloved by the Conservative party. Philip Snowden is no longer a Cobdenite fanatic preventing the reconstruction of England by the splendid and rejuvenating device of tariffs. He is Viscount Snowden of Ickornshaw, the man who won the election for the Conservative Party. Therefore, what would have been an outrageous effort to destroy the time-honoured constitution six months ago has become a sensible and patriotic arrangement involving merely a breach of a constitutional nicety.

The sudden decision that the question of tariffs is a mere matter of expediency which ought not to split a Cabinet is irresistibly comic. Tariffs have been the main issue at half the elections of this century. They are the sole Conservative remedy for the economic misery of the world. Only a few months ago, Mr. MacDonald was talking of the disastrous effects of "economic self-sufficiency," and Lord Snowden and Sir Herbert Samuel were explaining how suicidal it would be for this highly industrialised and over-populated country to join in the terrible national game of beggar-my-neighbour. Yet they joined forces with the Conservatives in an election, the undisguised object of which on the Conservative side was to impose tariffs. They have since swallowed a strong dose of tariffs without complaining or, at least, without complaining in public. (What they said in the secrecy of the Cabinet we shall no doubt soon know now that Lord Snowden is loose in the Lords. He will doubtless tell us what he said to Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, and how far Sir Herbert Samuel "ran away" from Mr. Chamberlain and all the rest of it. To make quite sure that we all know, he might perhaps tell the story on the wireless or in a Sunday newspaper.) And now these Ministers who made a victory for tariffs inevitable are to salve their consciences by explaining their difficulties and even voting against tariffs, but not of course by opposing them in any ungentlemanly way, not stumping the country, for instance, or doing anything effective to prevent the introduction of measures which a few months ago they described as utterly disastrous.

By way of apology Sir Herbert Samuel and his dissentient colleagues explain that on other issues of policy, such as currency and disarmament, India, and the rest, the Cabinet are in complete agreement. When these dissentient Ministers explain their position on tariffs in the House next week perhaps they would be good enough to add a word on these other matters. What exactly is the Government's policy about currency? Has it indeed got a policy about anything, except about tariffs and about India? As for India, how does Sir Herbert Samuel come to agree with a policy of the "firm hand"? And, as to foreign politics in general, has Sir Herbert, one wonders, read the *Manchester Guardian's* intimate account, obviously written from the inside, of the British Government's attitude in regard to Manchuria? Has he so little respect for the principles of the Covenant that he can express complete agreement with Sir John Simon's decision to support Japan's buccaneering operations in Manchuria? As for disarmament, the accounts so far published of the Government's proposals suggest that nothing which the experts object to is likely to be put forward. We could have wished that Sir Herbert Samuel's new freedom had extended to disarmament as well as to tariffs.

Even if Sir Herbert and his friends are in agreement on other matters, can tariffs really be treated as a side issue of domestic politics? How can they be divorced from international policy? They are the essence of Empire policy and the substance of the coming Ottawa Conference. They impregnate every issue. Can labour policy, or the reconstruction of industry, can any branch of public policy now be considered apart from tariffs? And, if not, are Lord Snowden, Sir Herbert Samuel, Sir Donald Maclean, and Sir Archibald Sinclair tactfully to absent themselves when these issues are discussed in the Cabinet? Or are they to be present, but even more tactfully to say nothing? Perhaps these curious revolutionaries, who have overthrown without provocation one of the central conventions of the British Constitution, may find that there is, after all, some reason for the doctrine of collective responsibility in the Cabinet. Lord Cushendun states in the *Times* that "the idea of Cabinet solidarity has grown into a superstition unsupported by reason." We suspect that before many months have passed the reasons for this convention may appear. For how can a Government function with any authority when it speaks with two voices on an issue which enters into every department of home and foreign policy?

In commenting on this little constitutional innovation, Mr. Garvin remarked that "it may well prove to have admirable and saving uses amidst the unique circumstances . . ." No doubt the Opposition has noticed Mr. Garvin's hint. A precedent for a constitutional revolution, carried out by Conservatives and Liberals, may be useful some day. But we are not prepared to congratulate the country on the destruction of its

constitution. For the work of sabotage has been done without provocation or necessity, and it has been done on the plea that the Prime Minister is indispensable. Mr. MacDonald has many qualifications for two-party leadership, but the introduction during the past few months of the principle that democracy need not understand issues, but only trust a man, spells the end of democracy and of reason in politics. It is the way in which democracy has broken up in one country after another in Europe. We should have preferred to try to make democracy work a little longer in this country, but our National leaders have decreed otherwise.

THE NEW BERLIN AGREEMENT

IN matters economic we are learning to be grateful for small mercies; and it is, we suppose, a small mercy that the foreign bankers assembled at Berlin have agreed to renew the "Standstill Agreement" for German short-term debts for another year. It is true that the bankers could not very well have done anything else; for, if they had refused to renew the agreement, no power on earth could have enabled them to call in the greater part of their money, and any attempt to do so would have compelled Germany at once to declare a moratorium. It is also true that the new agreement is accompanied by elaborate reservations which enable it to be brought prematurely to an end in the event of a crisis arising over reparations, or, indeed, from any cause at all, and further, that it is made conditional on the continuance of the credits granted by the Bank for International Settlements. It is even, we fear, of sinister significance that the new agreement has not been published in full; the summaries clearly reveal the fears and hesitations of Germany's short-term creditors.

Still, an agreement of a sort has been made, and Germany is being helped to hold on for a further period. Even the French financiers recognise, though none too willingly, that it would be disastrous deliberately to bring about a German financial collapse. They have signed the report, though rumour says it has needed a good deal of pressure to make them sign. They could not, indeed, very well refuse; for they are not large creditors of the Germans on short-term accounts, and they could hardly have forced a break, even if they had been disposed. Reparations, rather than short-term private debts, afford the French their chance of turning nasty.

The best feature of the new agreement is that it does contemplate the funding for a period of years of a part of Germany's short-term debts; an opportunity is to be given to foreign creditors to turn their claims into ten-year bonds. which is obviously the right thing to do, on the assumption that Germany is not going to default on her private debts. The question is whether there is enough confidence in the stability of the German economic system for much advantage to be taken of this chance. The interest offered is attractive, provided only that it and the principal are reasonably certain to be paid. But are they? As long as the burden of reparations hangs over Germany, no one can be sure what the German situation will be in two or three, let alone in ten, years' time. The new Berlin agreement will not, and cannot, restore confidence in Germany's financial stability; there can be no such confidence until the question of reparations has been settled once and for all.

The bankers, who have been in session since early December, clearly delayed a decision as long as they could in the hope that the Governments would deal meanwhile with the reparations problem. With the Lausanne Conference put off to the Greek Kalends, they have been compelled to renew the "Standstill Agreement" without any help or encouragement from the Allied Governments. They have renewed it in so tentative a form as to give Germany a respite, but under conditions which contain no promise of an easing of the crisis. This is not their fault; it is the fault of the Governments, and above all of the French Government, which is still refusing to face realities. In a year's time, when the renewed agreement runs out, the position will be even worse than it is now, unless in the meantime the problem of reparations has been successfully tackled. In effect, the bankers have told the Governments that the problem of German credit is insoluble without their aid. But M. Laval and his colleagues still keep their heads in the sand, and France's policy remains almost what it was when her soldiers marched into the Ruhr nine years ago. No doubt the French will change their minds some day. We hope it will not be too late.

A LONDON DIARY

POLITICS, so they often tell me, is a dirty game, and I am frequently interested and edified by seeking to discover the exact kind of dirt which is allowed or disallowed by the rules of the game. When Sir William Jowitt, immediately after his election as a Liberal, became at the same moment a Socialist and Attorney-General in Mr. MacDonald's Cabinet I thought the deal worthy of the eighteenth century, the explanations of the two principals to the deal worthy of Mr. Pecksniff, but the outcry of Liberals and Conservatives excessive. When Sir William followed Mr. MacDonald out of the Labour Party into the National Government, he did it again, we were told, not for the good of his career, but for the good of the nation—and he was instantly rewarded by being made Attorney-General in the National Government. Apparently the nation is unwilling to accept its good at the hands of Sir William, for even Mr. MacDonald has not been able to find a seat for him, and he has now resigned from the office of Attorney-General. It is, perhaps, somewhat hard on Sir William, who is not the only politician who has changed his party and taken office for the nation's good. His case reminds me a little of that of Charles Masterman; he also was anxious to serve the nation as a Cabinet Minister, but the nation would not give him a seat in the House of Commons. In both cases, I think, the electorate felt that the aspirants for service protested too much. Perhaps it is soap and not dirt which is most fatal in politics.

* * *

I have come across the following passage in a well-known book. It seems to have a bearing on the present situation.

> The triumph was as destructive to the victors as to the vanquished. . . . "We are too strong," prophetically exclaimed one of the fortunate cabinet, which found itself supported by an inconceivable majority of three hundred. It is evident that the suicidal career of what was then styled the —— party had been occasioned and stimulated by its unnatural excess of strength. . . . It was not feasible to gratify so many ambitions, or to satisfy so many expectations. Every man had his double; the heels of every placeman were dogged by friendly rivals ready to trip them up. There were even two cabinets; the one that met in council and the one that met in cabal. The consequence of destroying the legitimate Opposition of the country was, that a moiety of the supporters of Government had to discharge the duties of Opposition.
>
> Herein, then, we detect the real cause of all that irregular and unsettled carriage of public men which so perplexed the nation. No Government can be long secure without a formidable Opposition. . . . The general election of —— abrogated the Parliamentary Opposition of England, which had practically existed for more than a century and a half. And what a series of equivocal transactions and mortifying adventures did the withdrawal of this salutary restraint entail on the party which then so loudly congratulated themselves and the country that they were at length relieved from its odious repression! . . . They rode into power on a spring-tide of all the rampant prejudices and rancorous passions of their time. . . . Their policy was a mere pandering to public ignorance. Impudently usurping the name of that party of which Nationality, and therefore

> universality, is the essence, these pseudo-Tories made Exclusion the principle of their political constitution, and Restriction the genius of their commercial code. . . . Commerce requested a code; trade required a currency; suffering labour clamoured for its rights; a new race demanded education. What did the ministry do? . . . Like all weak men, they had recourse to what they called strong measures. They determined to put down the multitude . . . Their projects of relief were as ridiculous as their system of coercion was ruthless; both were alike founded in intense ignorance.
>
> The Manifesto of —— was an attempt to construct a party without principles; its basis, therefore, was necessarily Latitudinarianism; and its inevitable consequence has been Political Infidelity.

Where does this passage occur? In Disraeli's *Coningsby*, written in 1844.

* * *

Last week I referred to a letter which Gandhi was expecting to receive from Sir Samual Hoare on his arrival in India. The matter is of some importance, because in the atmosphere of suspicion and repression which surrounded the Congress Party at the time of Gandhi's arrival, the absence of this letter confirming the gist of Sir Samuel's conversation with Gandhi was interpreted as a further proof that the British Government was not standing by its pledges. Indeed, its non-appearance is said to have made a good deal of difference to the momentous discussions of the Congress Working Committee. I now understand that the letter was sent by Sir Samuel Hoare on December 19th by air-mail and that it should have reached Ahmedabad before Gandhi arrived. I am told that Gandhi did not actually ask that the letter should "reach him on the day of his arrival," but, of course, the request that the conversation with Sir Samuel Hoare should be confirmed by air-mail came to much the same thing. Why the letter took so long in arriving I do not know—it may have been merely a case of delay due to bad weather. Weather has decided a lot of history one way or another.

* * *

The controversy over the B.B.C. and the reviewing of current fiction starts on a new and curious phase. During the last week London publishers have received a letter from the Editor of the *Listener*, in which it is stated that, pending the non-broadcasting of reviews of fiction "for the time being, . . . the *Listener* is making an arrangement to supply this need among the broadcast audience by devoting a page of its space every fortnight to the publication of reviews of fiction"; and the reviewer is to be Mr. Eric Linklater. This is a little odd. It is common knowledge that the broadcast reviews of novels have ceased because books were mentioned that, innocuous in Kensington, Mayfair or Hampstead, were considered insalubrious on Savoy Hill. Will Mr. Linklater be allowed to mention a novel as outspoken as his own *Juan in America*? I know nothing of Mr. Linklater's merits as a critic of modern fiction; but surely it is a mistake for this work, if it is to be done at all in the *Listener*, to be put into the hands of one man. The right method for the B.B.C. to follow is that advocated by the *Publisher and Bookseller*. The B.B.C. hould appoint a literary editor who would distribute the work among a number of suitable contributors.

* * *

A correspondent accuses me of being unfair to Lord Allen (whom one used to enjoy calling Clifford Allen) when I spoke last week of his climbing to victory in the House of Lords on the ruins of the Labour Party. Now I certainly do not regard him as an ordinary social climber—his record as a C.O. during the War does not square with that—and I recognise the legitimate advantages offered by the House of Lords to a man of frail health and great ability. But I did not charge him with insincerity. I said "a gross error of taste." When Lord Allen wrote his letters to the *Times* I was, I confess, astonished that he should have attacked the party he had hitherto supported in this public and wounding manner. But I made no comment, nor did I do so when, to my even greater amazement, he accepted a peerage. But when he turns round and, as a fellow sufferer, condoles with the Labour Party on the disaster he helped to bring about, I felt that it was time to protest. A friend may kick me in the stomach when I am most hard pressed, and, as a forbearing person who thinks ill of no man, I may argue that he honestly believes me a pernicious nuisance who on social grounds should be knocked out. But if he then says, "My dear fellow, be reasonable. Don't be bitter. You and I have suffered this calamity through your blunders . . ." am I really ungenerous if I point out that his remark is not in good taste?

* * *

With a pathetic faith in the power of even a little money, Honolulu "has authorised the expenditure of £10,000 for publicity to restore the prestige of Hawaii before the world, and to proclaim the inherent good behaviour of the natives." "Inherent" is *le mot juste*.

CRITIC.

WOMAN

WOMAN has been talked about and written about by millions of men for thousands of years, but it is clear that the last word has not been said on her yet. Judges are repeatedly creating sensations by making new remarks about her, such as "Some women are extravagant," "A woman ought to dress well," or "A woman may be friends with a man who is not her husband," and a world that has never before conceived the possibility of such things gasps with astonishment and enthusiasm. I do not know why it is that judges have a special gift for throwing the nation into a state of excitement by making generalisations about woman, but the fact that they have is obvious. Let anyone who is not on the bench try to cause a furore by making an epigram about woman, and he will quickly learn that he is attempting the impossible. If I, as a journalist, wrote the wisest sentence about woman, I should not get a headline or even a three-line paragraph in a single evening paper. Take any sentence you please, for example, "Women are more reasonable than men." If a judge said it, all the newspapers would publish it prominently under a large-type heading, "Bachelor Judge Says 'Women are the Reasonable Sex.'" You and I, however, might say this, or the opposite, till we were black in the face, without attracting the slightest attention. Hence it seems to me that any young philosopher who holds original opinions on the subject of woman would be well advised to go in for the profession of law and work his way rapidly up to a seat on the bench. There he will be sure of the public ear for his tiniest pronouncement. He will be able to set every home discussing such questions as "Should women play lawn tennis?" "Why do women wear high-heeled shoes?" or "Are women the best cooks?"

Why women are to the majority of mankind the most interesting of all topics of discussion, it is difficult to understand. Perhaps it is that men in the past have done most of the discussing, and that to men women must always have the interest of foreigners. Woman is the most remarkable foreigner with whom man comes in contact. From the first he seems to have regarded her with the suspicion with which it is natural to regard foreigners. It is clear from the early records that he saw in her a potential enemy. She had scarcely been created when the only man in the world accused her in the revealing sentence, "The woman tempted me"; and for centuries civilised Europe has been brought up in the belief that, but for the wickedness of woman, death would have been unknown. It is said that the proverbs of most races show a similar hostility to woman. She is accused of treachery, of backbiting, of tempting men to their doom. Fortunately for the peace of the world, men mingled their fear of this mysterious foreigner with an idealistic awe. They found her company necessary and came to terms with her, sometimes as a slave, sometimes as

a goddess. But never did they understand her. They found her as difficult to live with as to live without; and both their humour and their satire have been expressions of their perpetual bewilderment. She remained the greatest object of curiosity in their lives, and they made jokes about her that would have exasperated any less patient sex into revolt. And they continue to make jokes about her to-day. Even in old age they go on talking about her behind her back, saying such things to each other as "Never trust a woman with a secret," or "It's women that cause all the mischief." In the public houses you will hear men saying: "If a marriage is unhappy, it's generally the woman that is the cause of it." And most of them believe it.

Comparatively seldom, on the other hand, will you hear men making generalisations about their own sex. They do not say, "Men are the quarrelsome sex" or "Men never keep a secret." They do not even say many things in praise of themselves. They are not particularly interested in men as men. If they discuss a man, it is as an individual, not as a representative of an entire sex. If they say that a man drinks too much, they do not imply that all men drink too much. If a man robs his employer, they do not make this an excuse for accusing all men of dishonesty. Hamlet saw in his mother's sin a reason for believing in the frailty of the whole female sex. But he did not see in his wicked uncle a representative of the mass of men. Perhaps men know too much about themselves to invent simple generalisations about men. Their generalisations about women are probably the result of their incurable ignorance of women.

I do not know whether women make quite so many generalisations about men as men make about women; but they make a considerable number. To them man is the great foreigner, and they think of him not merely as an individual, but as a sex. A woman is more likely than a man to say, "Men are like that," or "All husbands are untidy"—both of them manifest falsehoods. I do not think that women are so much given to uttering general comments on wives as on husbands. They know that it is impossible to generalise about wives without saying what is untrue. We shall know more about the attitude of women in these matters when the first woman judge sits on the bench. Will she, I wonder, obtain the same publicity for her sayings about men as a male judge obtains for his sayings about women? Will the newspapers announce, "Spinster Judge declares Husbands Spend Too Much on Beer"? Will a nation be stirred by her proclamation that a husband has a right to stay out after midnight? Perhaps it will; but this will not be because she has made a remark about men, but because it was a woman who made the remark. Women, as Miss Rose Macaulay once said, are news. They are news when they say things, and they are news when things are said about them. They are news, I imagine, even to themselves. This being so, the newspapers are fully justified in giving prominence to the remarks of judges on women, their faults and follies, these rights and wrongs. I myself never fail to read their judicial pronouncements, though I admit that if they were made by a stockbroker in the City I should pay little heed to them. A judge, however, is a Solomon whose words demand attention. He, too, is evidently news. Perhaps it is his wig that gives him also the interest of a foreigner.

Y. Y.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

ONE of the fundamental steps in the development of Darwin's theories about the origin of species was his realisation of the amazing fecundity of living things. As he pointed out, even in the case of the elephant, which is the slowest breeder amongst animals, the progeny of a single pair if left undisturbed would, at the end of five centuries, attain a total of 15,000,000. The brain recoils from the task of making calculations for the American oyster which spawns five or six times during the season and may produce up to 115,000,000 eggs on each occasion.

Countless millions of the young of all forms of life are continually being produced and yet, far from increasing, so few come to maturity that, except under certain rare and temporary conditions, no species of animal or plant does more than hold its own. Doubts may legitimately be felt about the importance of natural selection, but the struggle for existence is an obvious and established fact. Where public opinion has erred is not in its ready acceptance of this fact, but in its conception of the nature of the struggle. The Victorian quarter-truth (if, indeed, it be so much), "nature red in tooth and claw," is still only too widely regarded as the whole truth. Actually, direct and sanguinary conflict between different animals is of comparatively minor importance in the struggle for existence.

The principal battle is not between animal and animal or plant and plant, but between animals and plants alike and the rigid forces of their physical surroundings. The story of evolution is the story of the successive triumphs of living things over the forces of their environment. Darwin himself pointed out that direct competition was keenest between animals of the same or closely related species. It is a conflict between animals having the same needs and the same means of satisfying them. Thus the black or ship rat which infested every house in mediæval Europe was almost destroyed by the invading hordes of brown rats which came from the East in the eighteenth century, and with it disappeared the great plagues which it had carried from country to country and from house to house.

Of far wider occurrence than this ferocious warfare is the interdependence of living things, animals and animals, plants and plants, animals and plants. The abundance of one depends on the success of another which, in turn, is controlled by the presence of yet a third. The connection between the quantity of clover in any district and the number of cats, which was shown by Darwin, is probably the best-known instance of this. It is such mutual interdependence, and even definite co-operation between different forms of life in their struggle against the forces which everywhere confine them, which is the most significant feature about the struggle for existence.

A particularly interesting example of co-operation between very different types of animal life has recently been investigated by Dr. J. Verwey at the Dutch Marine Laboratory at Batavia in the East Indies. Amongst the many remarkable creatures which inhabit the coral reefs extending from the southern boundary of Queensland through the East Indies to the Philippines, are the giant anemones. These may attain a diameter of almost two feet and are brown, yellow, green or blue in colour. In regions where marine snails may be as large as footballs and "giant cockles" be a yard and a half long and weigh several hundredweight, size ceases to attract attention. But the anemones have special claims to attention.

If the short, clustering tentacles are pulled apart, in almost every case there will be exposed a small fish, one or two inches long and with broad transverse bands of yellow, and also perhaps a minute crab and a prawn, both of these almost transparent and with similar orange-coloured markings. These animals live only within the shelter of the tentacles of the anemones, within the very "jaws," that is, of animals which feed upon all other animals of their kind which approach the waving tentacles. These, despite their grace, are dangerous and efficient weapons containing batteries of sting cells which, when touched, shoot out fine, poisoned threads which penetrate the body of the prey and paralyse it. The anemone fish and its companions are alone immune from the effects of this poison.

Dr. Verwey has studied the habits of the anemone fish

with great care. He finds that in the Bay of Batavia there are five different species associated with five or six different kinds of anemones. Each kind of fish is confined to the one, or perhaps two, species of anemones which happen to dwell under conditions which suit the fish; but in the aquarium where conditions are the same for all they are not so particular, with the exception of one fish which, under all conditions, is invariably found inhabiting the same anemone. In nature the fish never leave the protection of the tentacles, for they are small, poor swimmers and utterly defenceless, but in the aquarium they will swim about bravely enough. All anemones do not possess fishes, but every fish must have the shelter and protection of an anemone.

The natural food of the fishes consists of the minute, floating life of the sea which drifts past the anemone but, apparently, when this fails them, they may bite pieces out of the tentacles of their protectors and with complete impunity. But they give some return for the protection they receive. They carry away or consume food which has been rejected by the anemone, they may even, on occasion, bring food to the anemones, while, most remarkable of all, when the anemones are in bad condition they may be "treated" in a characteristic manner. The fish rub against them and wave their fins in such a way that a current of water is wafted over the drooping anemones. Not all the fish show this behaviour: it is most pronounced in the fish which is always confined to the one kind of anemone.

What are we to make of such a relationship? It is fatally easy to wax sentimental. Actually the relationship between the anemone fish and the anemones is the result of the success of the fish in the struggle for existence. Small, feeble of movement and defenceless, the fish are at the mercy both of the waves and of marauding enemies. They obtain shelter and protection alike within the tentacles of the anemones. They have indeed triumphed in the struggle for existence. It is a triumph not of physical force, the result of some sanguinary and spectacular conflict, but of adaptation—in this instance the development of immunity from a poison which is normally fatal. Once this has been acquired the rest follows, probably mainly as a consequence of the establishment of conditioned reflexes.

It is this power of adaptation which really matters in the struggle for existence. The race is to the adaptable and not necessarily to the strong. Who would have imagined in the days when gigantic reptiles ruled land, sea and air, that they were destined to give place to the descendants of obscure little mammals, no bigger than rats, which scurried away in fear as their lumbering forms approached? Yet the mammals could adapt themselves to changing climatic conditions and the reptiles, for all their titanic physical strength, could not. We know nothing of the essential nature of this power of adaptation or why some animals should possess it in greater degree than others, all we know is that it is *the* essential characteristic of living things and has enabled them to conquer every possible environment, from the high atmosphere to the icy darkness of the abyssal seas.

Life is a unity. Its countless members are links in a never-ending chain. It is unfortunately still the fashion amongst men of science, whose knowledge of biology is largely confined to an exact study of the bones and habits of the higher mammals, to regard life as a perpetual battle wherein every combatant fights for himself alone. And they still endeavour to point out the applications of such biological "laws" to the conduct of the affairs of man and to indicate the "necessity" of warfare and even of pestilence. Modern biology gives no countenance to such views. Man is a single species, but he represents a community which may fittingly be compared to the whole of nature, and certainly cannot be compared to any one species in nature. Man has reached his present state owing to his powers of adaptation and co-operation, which have enabled him to build up communities largely independent of the rest of nature. This is how he has conquered in the struggle for existence. There is no quicker and more certain way in which he may destroy himself and lay in ruins all that he has achieved than by a repetition of such a so-called "struggle for existence" as the great war.

C. M. Y.

THINGS THAT MATTER

Being paragraph 142a *of a Report on "The Human Race and its Activities" by "Observers" from another planet.*

SO, since mankind is haunted day and night
By fear of riots, want, disease, starvation,
Condemned by iron laws to share the plight
Of fellow-sufferers in each neighbouring nation,
It might have been assumed they would unite
To solve their problems in co-operation
And practise, what a few fanatics preach,
The law of all for all and each for each.

To find a cure for cancer; to devise
Some means of getting goods to those who need them,
Creating not unprofitable ties
Between the folk who're fed and those who feed them;
To conquer insect pests; to mobilise
Credit, and justice, for all men—and lead them
Through sheer increase of knowledge and of wealth
To some degree of happiness and health.

Instead, it seems that their supremest joy
And that wherein they take the greatest pains
Is not to multiply, but to destroy
With shells, and bombs, and mines, their hard-won gains;
And every State retains in its employ
People of public spirit and of brains
Who spend their time discovering deadly gases
For killing off their fellow men in masses.

In fact, we found them solemnly debating
If they could even limit what they spend
On scientific means for desolating
Unnumbered homes and cornfields without end.
Meanwhile, we left those other problems waiting
Their ampler leisure—hence we recommend
To send no more "observers" to humanity
Except our wisest experts in insanity.

MACFLECKNOE.

Correspondence

We are only able to print a small selection of the letters sent. Will correspondents be as brief as possible?—ED. *N. S. & N.*

REPARATIONS

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

SIR,—There is a point connected with the reparations question which has been insufficiently emphasised both in your columns and in those Christian appeals which bid us "to forgive." The wiping out of the reparation payments is one of simple justice and must not be considered as a gracious act of forgiveness.

The colossal sums demanded in 1919 of Germany were claims made in hot blood in an overheated atmosphere and were based entirely upon the assumption that Germany alone was guilty of the war. Neither Germany nor Austria was permitted to explain. No attempt was made whatever to examine the important question of Russian mobilisation, nor to ascertain the truth about the spark that fired the European powder mine—the Serajevo murder. Exhausted Germany was forced, with a pistol at her head, to sign an admission of sole guilt in spite of her protests. Brennus cried *Vae victis* and threw his sword into the scales: A more monstrous travesty of justice has rarely been witnessed. Since then a mass of facts have come to light. The archives of Europe have yielded up the secrets of years. Confessions and reminiscences have been written. More and more has it been made clear that the whole guilt cannot be laid on one side only. That Austria should be liable to pay repara-

tions to the Serbs, now that it is known that the Serajevo murder was planned by the Head of the Serbian Intelligence staff, that the murderers were armed and taught to shoot in Belgrade, and smuggled over the frontier by Serbian officers, would be ludicrous were it not so tragically unjust.

Even Mr. Lloyd George, who once shouted for the "knock-out blow," has admitted that in 1914 the Powers slipped and stumbled into war without meaning to.

Is it not time that we ceased to repeat war lies, which in too many cases were invented expressly to create hatred, and admitted that we were all fools and must suffer for our folly? And that by trying to force someone else to pay for it we shall but further shatter the economic fabric of the world and sink to deeper ruin?

M. E. DURHAM.

AFRICA AND ANTHROPOLOGY

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

SIR,—Mr. C. M. Lawrence seems to write as if Anthropology and Sociology meant precisely the same thing. Anthropology means for me, and no doubt also for Dr. Leys, the study of the physical, mental and spiritual constitution and evolution of *Anthropos, Homo Sapiens*, and of his reactions of energy to his environments, not that of the social institutions by which he may, in different environments, most conveniently adapt his mode of life to survival, which is Sociology.

The most deadly errors in our relations with Africans have been made through inferences, based on sociological observation, that because their customs were beastly they were themselves therefore sub-human, or differently anthropic from Europeans, and might and ought to be dealt with accordingly. The reason why witchcraft-ridden Africans in Colonial Plantations or in their own countries have become Christians or Mohammedan deists is because in their own consciousness that conversion has given them greater freedom and human dignity: the reason why they seek and are entitled to education in civilised secular culture and the elementary equipment necessary for approaching it is similar—because they are anthropic.

Christian missionaries did their best, not to inspire West Indian slaves to revolt or to become politicians or efficient productive machines, but simply to enlighten their spirits and to help their minds as instruments for social and orderly life. Before emancipation all the local sociologists used to prophesy on the strength of their information about native African Sociology and Anthropology to such effect as the following—which I quote from William Beckford, the author of *Vathek*—"Abolish slavery and there would instantly be turned loose on society such a host of idle, immoral and profligate wretches as would infallibly become pests of society, and who would be a perpetual burden upon the community until they ceased to exist. . . . Great numbers of them, especially the most worthless, would seek the bush and the mountains and become wild savages. Ruin of the Island would be the most favourable contingency: far worse consequences would be probable."

What actually followed upon emancipation in Jamaica, of which Beckford wrote, was precisely the contrary. All the best and most industrious of the slaves left the estates, where it had been expected they at least would continue faithfully and soberly to labour for wages, and behaved exactly as intelligent and independent-spirited land-workers of the British Isles would have done if they had had similar opportunities and as favourable conditions for settlement and production. By thousands they bought small holdings of land, built themselves decent houses and established a peasantry at the excellences of which their most sanguine white friends were astonished. A Glasgow visitor to the Island ten years later deplored the comparison between the dwellings of these free negroes, their furnishing and their internal cleanliness, and those of Scottish Highlanders, and the contrast between the sobriety and orderliness of the two populations. Did he infer that the Highlanders were an inferior race? He did not; he recognised that Jamaican conditions gave the better opportunities to the land-workers: but he was impressed by the degree to which they were taken advantage of by a race reputed to be inferior. And it was precisely the more worthless and idle, or, to speak more charitably, the weakest and most ignorant of the slave-population that remained and worked on the sugar estates, and were, by that manner of life, when the estates, at a later date, were crippled by the fall of prices caused by Free Trade, depressed into still more wretched conditions till they escaped into the backlands and the bush.

Old Hall, Ramsden, Charlbury. OLIVIER.

"LOYAL CONVICTS"

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

SIR,—Like many of your readers must have been, I was interested to see from this week's newspapers how the public school spirit has percolated through to our prisons. It is refreshing to know that, while there are convicts so dead to decency that they try to escape from the establishments provided for them at considerable cost by the taxpayers, there are others who have imbibed that spirit of tradition and service which is the backbone of the empire. With a charming felicity of phrase our press refers to these latter as "loyal"—as men who have stood by the old prison in the hour of tumult and adversity! The "proud" wife and mother—again I quote—who were promptly interviewed may well feel gratified by the publicity they have received. If the unfortunate incidents of last week-end have accomplished nothing else, they have at least—according to the newspapers—proved how fine a thing is *esprit de corps* — how under its influence men have been ready to suffer for the "good old prison" in which they are incarcerated.

If only this attitude can be carried a little further, it may be possible, with the help of our press, to arouse that competitive pride which will make the resident of Borstal regard himself as superior to anyone wearing the Wormwood Scrubbs colours, even as the Eton boy, almost unconsciously, looks down upon the lad from a Grammar School. The reputation of Dartmoor has, alas, been unfortunately tarnished—but only for the moment perhaps, seeing that the riot brought to light so many shining examples of loyalty to that noble institution—a loyalty that was proof even against the invidious Communist propaganda which the press has brought to light!

LADBROKE BLACK.

Chiltern House, Wendover.

BEET-SUGAR SUBSIDIES

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

SIR,—The dangers of protecting and subsidising industries, whether or not they can be economically carried out, in this country are well shown by the position which has arisen with regard to sugar beet.

Although this industry has been bolstered up during the past seven years to the extent that the taxpayer has had to provide £384 per year for every additional man given sugar-beet employment, the growers are still clamouring for an even larger measure of support.

If recent reports are correct, it is the intention of the Government to increase the sugar duties by about 70 per cent. to about 17s. 6d. per cwt., and hand the British sugar-beet growers the colossal present of complete remission of excise duties. The cost to the consumer of sugar will, of course, be even higher than before. The money will be taken out of his pocket in the form of increased sugar prices. What is worse, the proposed complete remission of excise will deal a deadly blow at the established British sugar refining industry, because it will give a benefit of about 2d. a lb. (on a commodity now only worth 1d. in the markets of the world) to factories producing white British beet sugar over the refineries producing white sugar from the imported raw material from Cuba and the Colonies.

It is bad enough to bleed the taxpayer white to subsidise an uneconomic industry, but when an additional result is to throw large numbers of British workers out of employment in an allied and self-supporting industry, doctrinaire madness has surely gone far enough!

TOM GROVES

House of Commons, (M.P., Stratford).

THE DOUGLAS SCHEME

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

SIR,—After a careful reading of Chapter IV in Major Douglas's *Monopoly of Credit*, I still feel uncertain of the exact meaning of his test statement, "Where any payments of money appear twice or more in series production, then the ultimate price of the product is increased by that amount, multiplied by the number of times of its appearance, without any equivalent increase of purchasing power."

Taking the conversion system as a single going concern, the payments which represent costs of production at each stage constitute the gross income of the recipients, whether entrepreneurs, employers, landowners, etc., and the whole of this gross income is available for the purchase of the product, whether that

product takes the shape of consumptive goods, replacement, or new capital goods. If the recipients of this money income, without undue delay, apply it to the purchase of any of these classes of product, I see no reason to hold that any difficulty arises. The difficulty that does actually arise is, in my judgment, due to attempts to apply too large a proportion of the income to the purchase of new capital goods (saving) and too little to that of consumption goods (spending). Such action would explain why there was insufficient purchasing power to buy all the consumption goods, and why in consequence the new productive capital, to the purchase of which too much income was diverted, turned out to be excessive and lay unsold and unused. This interpretation of what occurs seems to me substantially in accordance with Major Douglas's illustration of earnings and savings on the page preceding his test proposition.

Taking industry as a continuous process, I cannot see that the number of times the same money figures in payments of costs, or the duration of production processes, are relevant to the explanation of gluts and unemployment. I agree that it is monstrous folly for society to allow the supply of its money to lie in the hands of profit-making private enterprise, the incompetence of which is so amply attested by the present financial chaos.

J. A. HOBSON.

Hampstead.

CLIFFORD ALLEN'S PEERAGE

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

SIR,—I am at a loss to understand "Critic's" scornful allusions to Lord Allen's actions and words. When a man differs from his Party what is he to do? Follow docilely in what he regards as the wrong direction? Scarcely honest. Sulk and take no responsibilities? Scarcely brave. Lord Allen, like Mr. MacDonald, still regards himself as a Socialist, therefore he writes "we" and not "they." He regards Mr. MacDonald's action as a temporary retreat in face of impending disaster which would have ruined the country as well as Socialism. One is entitled to think he was mistaken and to refuse to co-operate with him, but I see no reason for quarrelling with his "taste" because he expresses his own mind and not the mind of "Critic." Again, the implications in the sentence "he helped to wipe out the Labour Party, and climbed to victory and the House of Lords on its ruins" are quite unfair. Allen did not set out to destroy the Labour Party to which he had given the best years of his life; he wanted it to do what he thought wise. That he is a "climber" no unprejudiced person could believe, and least of all can it be supposed that the House of Lords tempted him. Mr. MacDonald did in his case what he has done repeatedly: knowing that Allen was not able to stand for election as a Member of the House of Commons (for reasons honourable to Allen) and believing that he might be a useful lieutenant, he gave him a place in Parliament, as he had done to Lord Passfield and Lord Arnold and others.

Word seems to have been passed round that this peerage is a "reward" for two letters in the *Times*. Are memories so short? Is all the work done by Allen for the *Daily Citizen* and the *Daily Herald* before, during and after the war forgotten? Has "Critic" not heard of his almost quixotic imprisonment as a C.O. (for no doctor would have passed him as fit for service), and that he went down to the gates of death at that time, bringing back a shattered constitution? Does such a man "climb" when he is sent to the Lords to do what work he can there?

CRITICI CRITICUS.

[Critic replies to this letter in the "London Diary."—ED. *N.S. & N.*]

TOO MANY JURORS

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

SIR,—I am one of a number of others who have just spent five (not consecutive) days at the Old Bailey, ostensibly as a juror. I have actually sat on one jury only, on the second day, during a bare two hours. For the whole of the last three days I sat with some twenty others, all equally idle, and I understand that there was a similar redundancy of jurors in all the other courts.

This is clearly a very serious loss of time and money to almost all, and no one should be required to sacrifice both so uselessly. By no possible combination of circumstances could the majority of those redundant jurors have been wanted.

ERIC GEORGE.

51 Paulton's Square, Chelsea.

Miscellany

LYTTON STRACHEY

MANY of those who have written about Lytton Strachey during the last week have said that as a writer he left a mark upon his age. No contemporary can be certain of his judgment as to the ultimate value in literature, biography, or history of *Eminent Victorians*, *Queen Victoria*, and *Elizabeth and Essex*, but the great effect and importance of these books during the last fourteen years are shown both by the admiration and the hostility which they have roused. I think that the most significant thing about Lytton Strachey both as a person and as a writer is that his writings came so directly from himself, from the very core of his character, that years before he had achieved anything or had become famous he was impinging (as he would have said himself) upon practically everyone with whom he came in contact in exactly the same way in which he impinged upon the reading public by his books. There were two reasons for this: first, the extreme individuality of his character, a character which united in a most fascinating way a whole series of pairs of contradictory qualities; secondly, an intellectual integrity which, when he was a young man, was extraordinarily violent and passionate.

When he came up to Trinity, Cambridge, in 1899, he knew and was known to none of his contemporaries. He had never been to a public school, and Walter Headlam, at King's, a fellow and much older than Strachey, must have been, I think, the only person in Cambridge who really knew anything about him. By the end of his first year he had already an intimate circle of friends and was recognised by many undergraduates and dons in Trinity and King's as a man of very remarkable character and powers. All through the time that he was in residence at Trinity his influence increased, and it is not an exaggeration to say that in the end it had become a dominating influence upon the intellectuals of his generation. And this domination did not end when technically he had "gone down." He still continued to spend a good deal of his time in Cambridge, and generations of undergraduates fell under his powerful spell. Its power extended even to the characteristic intonation of his voice, and when I visited Cambridge again after a long interval in 1911, it was amusing to find half the undergraduates at King's talking in what was called the Stracheyesque voice.

One reason for his immediate effect upon his generation was his astonishing maturity. When he arrived at Trinity in 1899 he already had intellectually the equipment which made it possible for him nineteen years later to write *Eminent Victorians* and combined with this intellectual maturity he had the fiery and violent intransigence of youth. With age and success he became extremely mellow and gentle; when a young man, his external demeanour was gentle and almost diffident, but was accompanied by an intellectual prickliness and ruthlessness which was extraordinarily impressive and at times devastating. The effect was increased by his peculiar method of conversation. When he was with those whom he liked, he would talk with animation, dropping every now and then into the general stream of conversation, casually and in his low staccato voice, some maliciously illuminating and extraordinarily witty phrase or comment. But in those days, though his conversation was fascinating and brilliant, it was often difficult, for he required much, including stimulus, from the person to whom he was talking. If the person or persons with whom he found himself in contact happened not to be congenial or their remarks unintelligent, the result would often be a social disaster, painful at the moment to a third party, though extremely amusing in retrospect. His legs inextricably intertwined, he would lie back in his chair, in black gloom and complete

silence, and then quite suddenly drop, this time probably into the most uncomfortable moment of silence, a sardonically witty remark which stripped the last shred of self-control and intelligence from his victim.

These combinations of ruthlessness and gentleness, silence and wit, prickliness and affection only increased the charm of his personality for those whom he liked. It was this charm, when united with his extraordinary intellectual gifts, his highly individual outlook on life, and his very definite opinions, which made him the dominating influence upon three or four generations of Cambridge undergraduates. When he first came to Trinity it was clear that he would be a writer, and his contemporaries were convinced that he would be a great writer. In those days he wrote much more poetry than prose. I think that perhaps all through his life he would have preferred to achieve something in poetry or the drama than in any other sphere of literature. But he demanded of himself the same tremendous standards that he required in others, and it is significant that, though he wrote a great deal of poetry, he never published it. He became a prose writer partly because his verse never came up to the standard which he himself demanded of poetry, and partly because the immense influence which Professor G. E. Moore and *Principia Ethica* exercised upon him, as upon so many of his contemporaries, turned his mind in other directions.

As a matter of fact, prose was, I am sure, the right instrument for his thoughts, given the fact that he was living not in the eighteenth, but the twentieth century. His mind was fundamentally of the order of Swift's and Voltaire's, a critical and analytical mind which delighted to express itself with natural brilliance in satire and wit. Some of the most brilliant things which he ever wrote were Voltairian squibs and essays written when an undergraduate on subjects about which he felt deeply and violently. It was these writings which showed that, as I said, at nineteen he already possessed the intellectual equipment of the author of *Eminent Victorians* and *Queen Victoria*.

His published writings are the direct product of his character, which, by its curious combination of contradictory qualities, was always producing something rich and strange. He was an iconoclast who loved traditions, so that, for instance, on a subject like the French Revolution he could feel with Burke and think with Tom Paine. He combined extreme originality, and even eccentricity, with a true love of the elaborate manners, forms, and formalities of a highly civilised and sophisticated society. He was a realist and a cynic, and yet he was a romantic who loved the pageantry of life and history. Though the standards he set for himself and demanded of others were so high and though one of the most remarkable things about him was his intellectual integrity, he would display, on occasions, an almost contemptuous, if not unscrupulous, disregard of accuracy in detail. These qualities determined his choice of subject and moulded his biographical method and literary style. They account both for the enormous effect which the iconoclasm of *Eminent Victorians* had upon a generation and for the reaction against him as a biographer and historian which has been so marked in the last few years. His romanticism and disregard of detailed accuracy are fairly open to criticism, and it is arguable that his methods, used by others without his genius and wit, have done harm to both biography and history. But many of his critics merely convict themselves of the biographical sentimentality and the historical humbug against which much of his work was rightly and triumphantly directed. And in doing so they often showed themselves to be blind to what I have called his intellectual integrity. An example which would certainly have amused Lytton Strachey himself may be quoted. In the recent controversy on the question whether General Gordon drank too much brandy and soda, one of his critics was very angry with him. He was indignant that a mere writer should suggest that a distinguished soldier who read the Bible could drink too much brandy. And in order to clinch the argument, he asked what right Lytton Strachey had to criticise General Gordon—Lytton Strachey who had never been in the East, had never been out in the sun without an umbrella, had never been far from a cup of tea or glass of lemonade. At that moment Lytton Strachey was enduring a long, painful illness with extraordinary patience and fortitude, and, though without the consolations of either a Christian or a soldier, was facing the prospect of imminent death with courage and equanimity.

LEONARD WOOLF.

OPERA AND THE B.B.C.

WE are told that it is not yet decided whether there is to be a season of opera at Covent Garden as usual this year, and, in fact, the whole operatic problem is in the melting-pot, and music-lovers are becoming rather nervous as to what sort of a concoction will ultimately issue. So the first real fruit (" rare and refreshing " few will find it !) of the collaboration between Colonel Blois's Covent Garden Opera Syndicate and the B.B.C. seems likely to be the cessation of the yearly international opera season at Covent Garden, which has been such a stimulus to opera in this country.

When I and many others welcomed the collaboration of the B.B.C. with the Covent Garden Syndicate, and the allocation by Mr. Snowden, as he then was, of £17,500 a year to assist opera in return for the rights to broadcast performances, we did not expect that this association would lead to the expulsion of international opera from this country. How much money is lost on the international season at Covent Garden every year I do not know, but under efficient management the sum has not been large, and it is possible that, occasionally, there has been a profit. But the season of British Opera given with British singers (who sang mostly in British, for their words were almost always unintelligible) given in the autumn after a successful international season in the summer was a disastrous failure. So great was the failure that Colonel Blois invited a number of critics and musicians to a luncheon to discuss the reasons for this.

We gave him what appeared to us to be the reasons, and as nothing has changed in the general conditions these reasons are still valid. It is, therefore, highly desirable that they should be taken seriously and properly considered before the authorities concerned lead our British musicians into a fresh fiasco. It was made clear to Colonel Blois that the failure of the British season was due :

(1) to the inferiority of British to international opera; and

(2) to the high prices charged.

Upon the difference in quality between the international season at Covent Garden and the British Opera season everybody was agreed, although we did not all go so far as Mr. Ernest Newman in pouring scorn and contempt upon the efforts of the British company. I, personally, would say that the Covent Garden Syndicate (upon which Lady Snowden now sits as the representative of the B.B.C.) has in its British Opera Company a company that, at its best, is about on the level of the " Old Vic " and Sadler's Wells Opera Company. In saying so much I am being highly complimentary, for I personally enjoy performances of the " Old Vic " and Sadler's Wells Opera Company far more than I enjoy those of the Covent Garden British company.

But the " Old Vic " and Sadler's Wells operatic performances do not pretend to do anything more than give excellent popular productions of opera at popular prices. There is no money to spend on stars or scenery or accessories; there is an orchestra which is on the small side and is not comparable to the orchestra which is at the disposal of Covent Garden; and yet these productions are

generally far more artistic than those of the Covent Garden British company, with one particularly great advantage that their vocalists sing in English, not in British, and so every word can usually be heard.

I am told that Lady Snowden is an ardent patriot, and is desperately keen that we should all buy British music. I had hoped that she was keen on promoting opera in this country so that in time we might have at least one first-rate permanent British opera company playing at Covent Garden and touring the country, and that in time other big cities, such as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, might have opera companies of their own also. But how is this to be achieved? I do not think it is to be done by abolishing our annual season of international opera, which sets a standard, and does more to convert the public to opera than all "Buy British" propaganda will ever do.

Still less is it to be done by substituting a gimcrack British season for this international season of opera by artists who have had the advantages of the training of generations of musicians, in a living operatic tradition at Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Milan, and a dozen other foreign cities where there has been a continuous operatic repertory for centuries. As for the notion that the London public will go to Covent Garden and pay the same prices as it pays in the international season to hear an inferior British company when it can hear as good, if not better, performances all the year round at a third of the price at the "Old Vic" or Sadler's Wells—well, such a notion is, in my opinion, perfectly crazy, and would prove that those who held it had not got the business competence to be handling the public's money.

Perhaps enthusiastic politicians like Lady Snowden are sceptical as to whether any real difference exists between one musician and another or one operatic performance or another. They may believe that there is no such thing as real quality, and that it is not necessary to have a tradition and a standard before you can achieve anything worth while in art. But if we are ever to have British opera worth hearing in this country we have to spend some money on providing our public with first-rate operatic performances so that they will realise that opera is something worth having. Every successful international season at Covent Garden wins hundreds of new auditors for opera who, after having enjoyed themselves at Covent Garden so much more than they have done for months at theatres and cinemas, look out for other operatic performances, and are soon to be found at the "Old Vic" and Sadler's Wells. It is well known that during the last two years the operatic performances at the "Old Vic" and Sadler's Wells have become far more successful than the dramatic performances, drawing larger and more enthusiastic audiences. This is partly due to an improvement in their standards and to the new enthusiasm for opera that has been awakened since the war in the London public by the series of magnificent operatic performances every year at Covent Garden during the international season.

It is really childish to attempt to pretend that there is to-day any British company capable of giving operatic performances on the level of those of the international season. Personally I think it a great pity that Sir Thomas Beecham's Imperial League of Opera cannot find some way of collaboration with the B.B.C. in establishing a permanent home for British opera in London so that we might have a chance of developing our own resources. Because I do not doubt for one moment that—given the requisite direction from above by first-rate musicians, who were musicians first and patriots second and politicians not at all—we should be able to train British singers and artists to equal the best foreign operatic artists in the world. But we shall never do this by mere empty pretence that what we have got is already good enough, and not only good enough but as good as anything elsewhere.

W. J. TURNER.

PLAYS AND PICTURES

Mary Shelley Goes to Hollywood

Frankenstein, Mr. James Whale's film after the story by "Mrs. Percy B. Shelley," has some bright moments, but in conception it is *bête*. Mary Shelley's story has an artistic interest as an essay in German horrific romanticism, and I think that if *Frankenstein* had been produced by an historically-minded German the result would have been much more interesting. The modernisation of the story, complete with melting American heroine, Mr. Frederick Kerr repeating his old jokes about alcohol, the "ultra-modern" atmosphere of the medical class-room, all combine to make the story flaccid and ridiculous. There are some skilful sequences early in the film which illustrate the making of the monster, good examples of modern test-tube art. But afterwards the whole thing falls into intellectual inanity. The happy marriage scene at the end must be seen to be believed, and completely destroys any artistic cohesion in the picture. Mr. Boris Karloff, who, we are informed, is an Englishman, has points, but "Oh for the touch of a vanished hand!" Lon Chaney might have made something of the part. Judging, however, from the praise lavished on Mr. Karloff, Lon Chaney is already forgotten, though only six months dead. Mr. James Whale is a clever man, but *Frankenstein*, like *Waterloo Bridge*, shows that he is in the grip of a singularly unintelligent producer. What is the object of taking Mary Shelley's story and then removing the whole point of it before starting to make the picture?

Good Entertainment

Un Soir de Rafle, at the Rialto, is an extremely jolly and unpretentious "commercial" film, dealing with the rise and fall of a boxing hope, "Battling Georget." The story is much the same as that of a hundred other boxing films, but it is photographed with speed and charm and acted with much spirit. The pleasant, shabby French atmosphere and the sharp, ugly French faces make of it a quiet relaxation after the shimmery sameness of Hollywood. M. Albert Prejean and the delightful Annabella take the parts of the boxer and his faithful friend. *Un Soir de Rafle* is not an important film, but it provides a very good entertainment. An admirable American farce fills out the bill.

Things to see and hear in the coming week:

Friday, January 29th—
F. W. Pethick-Lawrence on "Reparations and War Debts," Caxton Hall, 8.15.
Beethoven Recital, Lener Quartet, Queen's Hall, 8.15.

Saturday, January 30th—
Robert Mayer Concert for Children, Central Hall, 11.

Sunday, January 31st—
"Mutter Krausen," directed by Piel Jutzi, Film Society Astoria Cinema, 2.30.
Mrs. G. M. Trevelyan will make a wireless appeal for the Foundling site, 8.45.

Monday, February 1st—
Schubert Concert, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Furtwängler, Queen's Hall, 8.15.
Desmond MacCarthy on "New Books," B.B.C., 6.50.
Youth Disarmament Meeting, University College, 8.

Tuesday, February 2nd—
Disarmament Demonstration, Royal Albert Hall, 8.
Kingsley Martin on "The Press and Foreign Affairs," B.B.C., 8.30.
Brahms Concert, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Furtwängler, Queen's Hall, 8.15.

Wednesday, February 3rd—
B.B.C. Concert, Stravinsky, Queen's Hall, 8.15.

Thursday, February 4th—
Beethoven Concert, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Furtwängler, Queen's Hall, 8.15.

Current Literature

BOOKS IN GENERAL

ONCE I heard Lewis Carroll preach. Mr. Dodgson, with that delightful and pedantic precision which has, as exhibited in his books, turned so many nurseries into homes of chop-logic and nice distinctions, would promptly retort that I never heard Lewis Carroll preach. The man in the pulpit of the University Church at Oxford, speaking with constrained and passionate conviction on hell, was the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, clerk in holy orders, a deacon in the Church of God, licensed by the authorities of the Church of England as established by law. All the same it was Lewis Carroll. Most of the notices that have been written on the occasion of this remarkable man's centenary—he was born a hundred years ago last Wednesday—have stressed the great difference there was between C. L. Dodgson, Student of Christ Church, and Lewis Carroll, maker of Alice, of the Snark, of Sylvie and Bruno. It is no spirit of perversity that compels me to point out how alike these two men were. Dodgson's desperate anxiety that he should never be confused with Lewis Carroll; his refusal to answer or meet those who, eager to talk to Carroll, secured an introduction to C. L. Dodgson; his determination to keep all Lewis Carroll's work absolutely distinct from Dodgson's—all these devices are not evidence that he believed in the dichotomy he sought to impose on others. Contrariwise. Fundamentally he was aware—no one more so—that there wasn't a hair's-breadth between the two; that, if he were to keep his privacy and his secret, he must effect a permanent separation between persons who were not really separable at all. Mr. Dodgson knew well enough that it was Lewis Carroll who prepared undergraduates, who lectured on mathematics; that it was Lewis Carroll who occasionally intervened in University politics; that it was Lewis Carroll who attended meetings of the House senior common room; that it was Lewis Carroll who from his rooms by Tom Tower could look out at the quiet traffic of St. Ald's. If he was to remain Dodgson at all, if he was to persist in the solemnities of college life and adult education, then the invisible, non-existent line between Lewis Carroll and C. L. Dodgson must be preserved inviolate. Or else he might suddenly find himself behind the mirror, in Wonderland, with no one to keep him company but a crowd of little girls, and one or two small boys. So he kept Dodgson aloof, busy, formidable; and persuaded even some of his intimates that Lewis Carroll was an invention.

* * *

"My poor client's fate now depends on your votes."
Here the speaker sat down in his place,
And directed the Judge to refer to his notes
And briefly to sum up the case.

But the Judge said he never had summed up before;
So the Snark undertook it instead,
And summed it so well that it came to far more
Than the witnesses ever had said!

No one can be positive about the nature of the Snark. I am even uncertain whether Lewis Carroll is not intentionally misleading us when he implies that there are Snarks which are not Boojums: possibly the Snark who undertook the Judge's summing-up was not a Boojum. Yet it is hard to believe in any Snark but the Boojum; and I would suggest that some learned scholar might read again, with minute care, the tale of the hunting, on the hypothesis that the Snark, at least Boojum Snark, is none other than the poet himself. There are several slight indications which I can only enumerate: the Bellman, hunting in revenge for the attack on the Belfry; the Banker, a recollection of that squib, the Blank Cheque; the Beaver and Hope, insignia of Rossetti and Burne-Jones, leaders of the Pre-Raphaelite movement which was part of Lewis Carroll's Oxford; and then the last stanza suggests so inimitably the fate of those who came to hunt the Snark who wrote about Alice, only to find the Boojum protecting his privacy, refusing to yield, even though they would buy him with a railway-share, or charm him with the smiles of ingratiating adulation, or the soft soap of flattery. If any interviewer ever got near that Snark's rooms, what happened?

In the midst of the word he was trying to say,
In the midst of his laughter and glee,
He had softly and suddenly vanished away—
For the Snark *was* a Boojum, you see.

All accounts I have read of Dodgson, the man, leave me with the impression that those who knew him did, in some odd way, vanish and leave him on the stage, alone. He was out of contact with men, reluctant to establish any relations with them. Is that the secret of his consummately classic art? He did not fear contact with children, because that did not involve him in any necessary betrayal of himself—they only knew Lewis Carroll, and so were in no risk of discovering Dodgson, the Boojum. They loved the Snark, who could play all parts, and was content with and loved them as they listened to his stories, or entered with him the entrancing world of dressing-up, the enchanted world of make-believe. With children he could move at ease, puzzling them, pleasing them, sometimes tormenting them in a world of ideas, which did not approach that world of "dull reality" lamented at the end of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. It would take too long to examine here why he dreaded that "reality," why he continued to be intimate only with those with whom true intimacy is not possible, why he lived in a world of logic, of truth, of fancy and of fantasy, but avoided any kind of approach to the world of imagination. Whatever his reason, that was his choice; and to that choice we owe all his best work.

* * *

The excellence of Lewis Carroll's books has obtained greater recognition as the years pass. In his own day his only serious rival was Kingsley of *The Water-Babies*; but the two *Alices* are far greater than Kingsley's story, both in plan and execution. Lewis Carroll's books are profoundly original, a fact that may be overlooked in a time used to their influence on subsequent literature. Not only does Humpty-Dumpty give us the recipe of the modern masterpieces of the *transitional* school, but there are other anticipations of the manner of our extreme left. Has it ever been noticed how the Duchess gave a friendly lead to Miss Gertrude Stein?

> Never imagine yourself not to be otherwise than what it might appear to others that what you were or might have been was not otherwise than what you had been would have appeared to them to be otherwise.

And there is a pleasant touch of modernity in the meditation of the King, when Alice gives her evidence: "'Unimportant, of course, I meant,' the King hastily said, and went on to himself in an undertone: 'important—unimportant—unimportant—important—' as if he were trying which word sounded best." The precision, the clear outline, of Lewis Carroll's work make it memorable in Victorian literature for children. Here he is genuinely Pre-Raphaelite, and may claim kinship with Christina Rossetti, who shared with him a love of nonsense, of children and a deep pre-occupation with moral values. In *Sylvie and Bruno* the moralist and the preacher overcame the artist; yet there are delightful things in those two volumes, not including the superb rhymes of the Gardener. In those we have the last flowering of Carroll's inimitable originality. There is one stanza which might be taken as the challenging note of Lewis Carroll's whole literary life:

He thought he saw a garden-door
That opened with a key:
He looked again and saw it was
A Double Rule of Three:
"And all its mystery," he said
"Is clear as day to me!"

RICHARD SUNNE.

HAZLITT AS REVOLUTIONIST

The Complete Works of William Hazlitt. Centenary Edition. Edited by P. P. HOWE. Vols. 2, 6, 8, 12, 13, 14 and 15.

"The best of us are idle half our time. . . . Let anyone devote himself to any art or science ever so strenuously, and he will still have leisure to make considerable progress in half a dozen other acquirements." Hazlitt points to the versatile Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Salvator, Titian and Sir Joshua Reynolds to illustrate his case; and it must have been at the back of his mind as he wrote that he too was a man of adaptable talents, capable of many things. He was a literary critic and essayist. But was he not also an artist and a connoisseur of art? He had written at considerable length and with some show of expertness on Malthus's theory of population. He lectured on Hobbes, Locke and other English philosophers, and planned and in part prepared *A History of English Philosophy*. He produced a comprehensive history of Napoleon Buonaparte in four volumes. And it may not be generally remembered that he wrote *A New and Improved Grammar of the English Tongue: for the Use of Schools*—a work in which the verb "To Be" is conjugated in full, and the Present, Past and Perfect Participle of 170 irregular verbs are set out in order.

Yet this voluminous writer who discoursed well on so many subjects never gives us the impression of Herculean effort. He speaks with distant admiration of scholars of the Reformation period who ransacked libraries and exhausted authorities, inquiring *de omne scibile et quibusdam aliis*. "They had their work to do; we reap the benefits of it. We skim the surface, and travel along the high road." At the age of forty-eight he looks back on a time, twenty years earlier, when he had toiled to learn and toiled to write. But not so now. This writing "costs me nothing." "A practised writer ought never to hesitate for a sentence from the moment he sets pen to paper, or think about the course he is to take. He must trust to his previous knowledge of the subject and to his immediate impulses. . . . Rapidity of execution . . . is often productive both of sharpness and freedom."

We can well imagine that his lighter essays and some of his lectures were produced with this nimbleness and ease, out of a mind well stocked by earlier studies, strengthened by a retentive memory, and always freshly responding to daily events—the conversation of friends, performances in the theatre, examination of pictures, encounters with strangers. Hazlitt could live long on his intellectual capital, and with his rich vein of fancy and his interesting intellectual prejudices he might have gone on spinning webs out of himself; and his facility might have proved his undoing. But that was not his way. The old "habit of industry" was more ingrained in him than he perhaps supposed. It is certain that his *Life of Napoleon* could not have been prepared without an immense amount of reading and much painstaking in the sorting and sifting of his material.

It was the last and the biggest task of his life. He probably planned it in 1825, when he was forty-seven years of age, after a few months' stay in Paris. He spent some seventeen or eighteen months there between 1826 and 1828 preparing his material. The first half of the book was published in 1828, and the whole work appeared in 1830 in four volumes, being reissued the year after his death. Since then, and until now, it has only once been republished, in the edition of 1852. It may safely be said that at no time during his life or after have most of his admirers been acquainted with the work which he looked upon as his *magnum opus*.

Hazlitt, obviously, was not a trained historian. But he had a trained mind, and a philosophy of history. He pursued his usual method. He steeped himself in his subject by reading all the available works on the French Revolution and the various phases of Napoleon's life, and adding to it much that he learnt at first-hand in Paris. Having thus a substantial framework of facts on which to hang his history, he let himself go. Here at last, after a lifetime of random efforts, of disconnected essays and fragments of philosophies, was a subject made to his hand—an object fit for hero-worship, a contemporary incarnation, as he saw it, of the spirit of revolution—a personality who was all action, embodying a living idea. His Napoleon may be a creature of the imagination conjured up by one who had heard him reviled all his life, and invested him with all the qualities which authority or servility suppressed in England. But this hero whom he has all but deified is at least a possible construction built up on the bare facts of Napoleon's rise to power, his brilliant victories, his magnificent failures, his human weaknesses. He is an admirable foil to set up against the defects of the French character, which Hazlitt exaggerated; just as we have an admirable contrast on the other side between the king-ridden superstitions of the English and the "bull-dog breed" of the rank-and-file. His prodigious qualities are magnified when we see him as the great ruler of a second-rate people contending against the second-rate rulers of a great people.

To us it may seem strange that Napoleon should be the idol of a revolutionary, and spoken of as "the child and champion of the Revolution." Not so strange, perhaps—since that revolutionary was Hazlitt—to find him rejoicing in the "one reputation in modern times equal to the ancients . . . one man greater than the throne he sat upon." He refuses to be disconcerted when his "child of the Revolution" is crowned Emperor. For Hazlitt does not call himself a Republican. He would never be "a martyr and a confessor to any form or mode of government." "What I have staked health and wealth, name and fame upon, and am ready to do so again and to the last gasp, is this, that there is a power in the people to change its Government and its governors. That is, I am a Revolutionist." What he detests is the use-and-wont of servility bound by custom. Men like Napoleon stood "upon the ground of their own merits." Even their abuses of power were "not softened by prescription, nor screened by prejudice, nor sanctioned by superstition, nor rendered formidable by a principle that imposed them as sacred obligations on all future generations."

In elaborately preparing the scene for his demi-god and in describing situations at various moments in his life he rejects no opportunity of enlarging upon his theme as the fancy moves him and often indulges in excited rhetoric. But none the less, in making use of material which his predecessors in inquiry have bequeathed him, he unfolds it with good sense and rare vivacity. He makes no attempt to diminish the excesses of the French Revolution, but asks us to remember that its horrors arose from "the dread of the Coalition formed against it." "When Marat mounted the tribune . . . it was not that poor, distorted scarecrow figure and maniac countenance that inspired awe and silenced opposition; but he was hemmed in, driven on, sustained in the height of all his malevolence, folly, and presumption by 80,000 foreign bayonets."

Hazlitt reveals in this work an admirable capacity for swift and lucid narrative, and throughout the record of political intrigues, campaigns and conquests he keeps the story moving at a breathless pace. The strain is relaxed by his frequent characteristic digressions, as when he discourses on the value to a nation of public art collections, or the "false refinement" of the French, or Buonaparte's inability to "*unmake* the character of the people." The historian may find it impossible to forgive the partisanship with which he glosses over the failures and monstrous defects of Napoleon. But if we are willing to take it as a picture, built up out of his own idealism, of spirit rising superior to circumstance, of irresistible will fighting against superstition and intolerance, we find it a piece of literature worthy of its author, as little meriting neglect to-day as a hundred years ago.

R. A. SCOTT-JAMES.

NEW NOVELS

Morning and Cloud. By E. B. C. JONES. Gollancz. 7s. 6d.

Bricks and Mortar. By HELEN ASHTON. Gollancz. 7s. 6d.

The Wife. By SARAH SALT. Gollancz. 7s. 6d.

Linda Shawn. By ETHEL MANNIN. Jarrolds. 7s. 6d.

Night Out. By RUPERT CROFT-COOKE. Jarrolds. 7s. 6d.

The Harbour-Master. By WILLIAM MCFEE. Heinemann. 8s. 6d.

Christopher Strong. By GILBERT FRANKAU. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

Are the "little miseries" of life, the small discomforts, more intolerable to a woman's spirit than to a man's? If one judges by the work of female novelists, there can be no doubt that women suffer from them more acutely, and that the unpaid bill, the squeaking door, the neighbour's gramophone are tiny drops which, descending quiet and regular, build up into the stony stalagmite of an emotional grievance. . . . Realism, pitched in a minor key, is characteristic of a certain type of woman's novel.

Very often the result is extremely talented. The chroniclers of domestic bitter small-beer write their stories with dispassionate ease and accuracy. They are not soured; only their nerves are a trifle frayed. First and foremost, they are women of education. . . .

To this group the three novels which head the list may be assigned, though their methods are very dissimilar. All three are *intelligent* productions, with a common background of sensibility and careful reading. Gush, the exuberance of feminine enthusiasm, sentimentality and strained or mawkish pathos, have been excluded as by the menace of a fiery sword:

> Rien de bruyant, rien d'agité
> Dans leur triste félicité!

And the style serves as a polished silver platter on which is dished up a pathetic sprinkling of crumpled rose-petals.

Life is bad; not bad as Flaubert found it, just *bad*, like a headache or a Monday morning when one's cook develops the symptoms of influenza. There are advantages; flowers and friends and a pretty room, and life is liveable if you can forget the stains on the carpet. An important point: Man in each of these novels is treated with a remarkable degree of sympathy. Perhaps it is not Life which is to blame so much as the crushing fact of being a woman, with a woman's nerves, woman's income and woman's ailments.

I am generalising; if you examine them individually the outward look of resemblance begins to fade. Miss Ashton is a better novelist than Miss Jones, and Miss Jones writes better than Miss Salt. Miss Jones has a more ambitious flourish, but it is less persuasive than Miss Ashton's staider method. *Morning and Cloud* starts off with determination, yet an odd infelicity attends its progress. Cedric's wife was "very slender, fair, clear-skinned, with rather prominent eyes, a high forehead, and a very slight gracious falling away of the chin. She used make-up with remarkable skill and infinite care, so that an exquisite sunburn was evenly spread over every part of her body which was visible, except the hands." These sentences, taken from the beginning and end of the same paragraph, compose a portrait which, at any rate for one reader, is a little too "slick" to be quite convincing; while the description of the charming house in which she lived—those small but charming houses in Hampstead and Westminster, how well the novel-reader comes to know them!—is as replete with pretty touches as it is void of significance.

Bride, you understand, was brilliant but horrid, the sort of woman whom other women detest if only because their defences are so perfect—smart, capable, rich and cold as ice. Anthea, the art-student, was her exact opposite, sensitive, a predestined victim of the little miseries, a warm and generous nature towards whom Cedric, tame but resentful consort of the brilliant Bride, leans and wobbles on conflicting currents of sympathy. He respects Bride and imagines that he loves Anthea; and his vacillations, once the story is under way, are delicately depicted by Miss Jones. The closing chapters of the book are true and memorable; its opening gambit, though accomplished, is inclined to be flimsy.

In *Bricks and Mortar*, a long straightforward tale, Miss Ashton unfolds the history of an ambitious architect, a shy young man who marries a stupid woman, and of the two children, a boy and girl, whom they produce. Miss Ashton is adept in quiet narrative. She does not force a climax and, indeed, seems to suggest that real life seldom has a climax up its sleeve, but drags on, blind and monotonous, from year to year, while virgins become matrons and babies adults. Written from the point of view of the head of the family, *Bricks and Mortar* is essentially a woman's book, the story of a man observed by a woman, and observed with level judgment and steady restraint.

Bricks and Mortar is no doubt the best of the three; but *The Wife* is a book which deserves to be read, for Miss Salt has a quality the others lack, a vigour which is often heavy-handed, but gives her picture of life an acid distinction. How bleak, how unrelieved, the picture is! Yet the protagonist has youth and grace still in her favour, money, a devoted husband, a comfortable home. Discontent gnaws her spirit from within and she longs for some escape, no matter what—a lover, a child, a change of scene—falling back on the expedient of a youthful lover and finally relapsing into the role of patient spouse.

In these three books intelligence predominates; emotionalism is strenuously kept in check. The fourth belongs to a somewhat fruitier vintage, though it is not so fruity as to be altogether unpalatable. True, a certain under-throb of banal sentiment—"dreams that cannot die . . . the long, long dreams of youth, delicate as spray of apple-blossom, and as rich in promise; sweet as the song of wind in the rigging," makes itself heard disconcertingly from time to time. But, on the whole this story of country life—of *Linda Shawn* from her twelfth to her fifteenth year—is plausible and, now and then, moving. Miss Mannin charts with some skill the difficult passage through the narrows of adolescence.

In *Night Out* we return to masculine fiction. Mr. Croft-Cooke has rehashed the familiar theme of an obscure individual, obsessed by "longings," which take shape at the impact of a small legacy. Justus, a paying-guest in Dulwich, is in love with Maureen, the younger daughter of his landlord. He yearns for strange lands, distant horizons; and five hundred pounds give him the chance of a night out. His subsequent Odyssey would be more amusing if it were less portentous. "Can't you see it, you poor little post-war warrior? All the will to do, to serve, to believe, and none of the power. Born out of date if you like. Frustrated every time. Your whole generation is like that more or less, only they don't see it." So croaks the mysterious vagrant at the midnight coffee-stall, who sends Justus, with his tail between this legs, home to Dulwich and the arms of his Maureen. Obviously there was nothing else for him to do.

Mr. Croft-Cooke is bright and brief and cutting; but Mr. McFee takes his time in spinning a yarn. *The Harbour-Master* is a story of the sea, Conradian both in its method and verbal tricks, yet none the less readable if somewhat diffuse. A little long, this extremely solid book might have been whittled down, by Conrad himself for instance, to the dimensions of a rather long short-story. Digressive interludes are enlivened, here and there, by passages of really vivid reporting, which show considerable art in the use of words.

And Mr. Frankau—what shall be said of Mr. Frankau? He knows his business—but that is hardly worth repeating—and keeps his characters briskly on the move:

> So small her hand seemed in his; so pliant her young body; so sweet the scent of her. And now—as the other dancers pressed on them—her limbs drew closer, moulding themselves to his limbs; till their two bodies seemed but one body, and the scent of her was a madness in his nostrils, and the warmth of her a madness through all his muscles, and all the world's desire was tangled in the tendrils of her amber hair. . . . Not yet had those two fallen from grace. But already, naked and no more to be shamed, the emotions were unleashed between them. And when—with Monica and the Italian still dancing—they came back to their table, black eyes sought amber eyes; till amber eyes went down before them, and all Felicity's young womanhood was conscious of that desire to assuage desire which is the core of woman's love.

Mr. Frankau, like Mr. Croft-Cooke's Justus, suffers from having been born out of date. Alas, in our present enlightened age, they do that sort of thing so much better on the movies!

PETER QUENNELL.

THE BASIS OF PROPERTY

Property: A Study in Social Psychology. By ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Much of the social behaviour of civilised peoples that was formerly supposed to rest upon some eternal principle in the scheme of gods and men is found to be, in the last analysis, merely convention determined by the external or internal environment of the peoples concerned. Different types of behaviour arise from variations in the two classes of factors. Simple and obvious as this interpretation is, it was hardly suspected before the rise of the modern study of social anthropology. The notion that property rights, for instance, are wholly grounded in institutions could not have been apparent to a belted baron of the Middle Ages appealing to Heaven and the sword, over and above his legal claims, as sanctions for his lands. A nineteenth-century merchant might have invoked some vague ethical principle supposedly inherent in the universe. To-day, to any intelligent person who has not been nourished exclusively on the history, literature, and philosophy of antique nations, property can hardly appear otherwise than as a social institution. He would say in effect: Who steals my purse steals that which he has agreed implicitly, as a member of a society in which the property convention holds, to leave inviolate, as I have agreed to leave his.

What are the psychological bases of such conventions as property? How did mankind come to adopt them? To put the question in another form: How do the simple reflexes of man become conditioned to meet those situations which would otherwise cause everlasting conflict in a society? Mr. Beaglehole claims that light can be shed on these questions by an analysis of the behaviour of animals, of primitive peoples, and of individuals, especially children. Some three hundred pages of example and discussion bring him to conclusions that are not substantially different from what one might have expected, namely, that the basis of property is social convention; that no "instinct" of property, or even of acquisition, has a place in determining our behaviour in relation to *meum* and *tuum*. Though the problem is argued by him with much intelligence and to a conclusion entirely rational, his thesis is not without irrelevancies. Paradoxically the biological and the psychological are the least relevant parts of this Study in Social Psychology.

If any facts were known about the mental processes of primitive (*i.e.*, pleistocene) Man, we might hope for some faint ray of light on the psychological bases of human social conventions. The simple findings of physiology give no clue to the solution. Is it to be expected that the two-and-seventy jarring psychologies will help us out? Conventions are not genetic but traditional. Though inherited constitution may determine in a general way the reactions of individuals to particular kinds of stimuli, our behaviour about what is known as property (objects publicly recognised as being at the disposal, etc., of owners) is obviously conditioned by environing society. Thus a new-born babe has no property behaviour, and older children, as Mr. Beaglehole shows in his very interesting eighth chapter, acquire the property sense at varying times and rates.

It follows that the zoological chapters, almost a third of the book, are of very doubtful relevance. By the expedient of making "defence against aggression" a criterion of property (cf., "If one take away thy cloak give him thy coat also!") he introduces a source of obfuscation, namely, animals and their possessions, sufficient as an analogy but hardly satisfactory as an example. If Tray takes away Fido's bone, humanly, he steals; but is it a doggy theft? What are the canine conventions about property, if any? Even Lloyd Morgan might hardly be expected to know them. It is true that the social behaviour of some insects is faintly analogous to that of man, but the analogy is a poetic and not a scientific one

> . . . For so work the honey bees,
> Creatures, that by a rule in nature, teach
> The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
> They have a king and officers of sorts . . .

The inquiry shifts out of the realm of science into that of faerie where Titania conjures spiders and Henri Fabre's romantic insects act on ethical principles. "Analogy" as an eminent biologist said recently, "is not analysis." The behaviour of the honey-ant towards *Cynips tinctaria* (not *Cyrips tinctaria*, p. 50) may be found on investigation to be no more than a complicated system of chemotropisms, and the psychology of a transaction in real estate will not be illuminated by the contemplation of singing masons building roofs of gold. The trifle of some hundreds of million years since *Homo* first differentiated from the anthropoid stem and the not inconsiderable time since the emergence of *Homo sapiens*, together with the absence of any property convention amongst our cousins many times removed, the apes, renders the hypothesis of a pre-human origin insufficiently economical to warrant the consideration which the author has given it.

This view is confirmed by the author's own conclusions. For the zoological pages, though full of careful thought and conscientious inquiry, give no hope of finding a basis for property in animal behaviour, but only achieve the negative finding that the basis of property is not an acquisition "instinct."

The most valuable part of the book is the examination of property in savage society. Here the author is on much firmer ground with an accumulation of relevant matter and a cautious analysis thereof. His interpretation of the Bantu *ukalobola* as bride-price might be questioned as being that of the missionary and the trader, but not of the anthropologist. But on the whole the illumination of the subject by these chapters is so strong as to suggest that, had he framed his definition with more economy and excluded some misplaced biology, his book would have been briefer and better.

LOUIS HERRMAN.

THE CASE OF MARY STUART

The Persecution of Mary Stewart. By SIR EDWARD PARRY. Cassell. 21s.

In an historical handbook, the *Age of Elizabeth*, Dr. Creighton wrote as follows of Mary Stuart:

> Her ends were purely selfish, and her plans were simply laid for the increase of her own greatness. Hence it was that she failed. In the crisis of her fortunes her sensual nature was too strong for her political cunning; the desire for gratification at the moment overcame the desire for future success; she lived for herself alone, and sacrificed her future to her present.

In 1877, the date of this work, Goodall and Tytler had both examined the case for Mary Stuart exhaustively. Most of the documents implicating Moray and his gang had been discovered. One wonders whence the great historian culled his facts. Probably from Buchanan, Moray's publicity agent, and from Knox, the avowed and unscrupulous enemy of the sovereignty of women. Calumny dies hard, and of course in level-headed historians it shows a more worldly judgment and a freedom from sentimental prejudice to take calumny at its face-value.

But of all people a judge is in a position to trust his own judgment and scorn accusations of sentiment. He is presumably a man of some experience, without the historian's lurking eagerness to show that in the weighing of evidence he knows what's what—and that *what* is more often black than white. And so one welcomes Sir Edward Parry as the latest champion of Mary Stuart. What if he blackens Scotland very considerably in the process? He does no less for England. Sir Edward has set himself the task of proving, by a re-examination of all the evidence, that Mary Stuart was the innocent victim of a syndicate whose resolve to ruin her began before she left France, and ended only when Morton, the last survivor of the Triumvirate, confessed his guilt and was condemned by Mary's son. He has more than proved his case. He has shown not only that Mary was tricked by Moray, Morton, and Maitland of Lethington, who sold her life to England for their own profit, but also that Mary was a good woman and an intelligent queen. The last, very few even of her admirers, not even Mr. Maurice Baring, have claimed for her—"beautiful but dumb," as the Americans say, is a sturdy prejudice. Sir Edward simply demonstrates how, as one difficulty after another arose in her thorny path, Mary always chose the wisest course, when she was not driven into the only course. He also shows, as Mr. Baring has done, that from the moment Mary left France the stage was irrevocably set for her tragedy.

Moray, Morton, Maitland, these were the Syndicate. Knox and some others played their modest parts. But the true villain of the piece, the power behind the gang, was Cecil. Cecil had decreed Mary's ruin, Cecil held the purse-strings, and, as Drury wrote to Elizabeth, "money is the man in Scotland." It is an ugly story that Sir Edward Parry unravels, and one begins to understand why men have been so willing to think the worst of Mary. Exonerate the Queen, and bang goes the honour and fair fame of two nations. It is an ugly story, but after reading Sir Edward's detailed examination of it, one must admit that here is the true story. Incidentally, he pays a long overdue tribute to the researches of Mary's earliest vindicators, Goodall and Tytler. He also disposes finally of the Casket Letters.

With proper English loyalty he defends Elizabeth's part in her "dear sister's" tragedy. This means, of course, an extra coat of black for Cecil, who cheated not only his sovereign's cousin and neighbour, but also his sovereign. It also means that Elizabeth's dealings with the syndicate are glossed over, her kind letters to Mary stressed. And even then Sir Edward can produce nothing that was kind except words, not a single honourable or sisterly action. Elizabeth even denied to Mary an opportunity of pleading her own cause before her judges and accusers whilst admitting (words again) that the claim was "very reasonable." It may be that, in fact, Elizabeth had so little power that she could not obtain for a fellow-sovereign justice or even a fair hearing. As one sees it in this book, Elizabeth did not owe her triumph, Mary her downfall, to the superior brains of the former, the feminine folly of the latter. Both, within their limits, were clever women enough. But Elizabeth stood for what the rulers of her country wanted, Mary did not. And so in England Cecil, in Scotland the Syndicate and John Knox, fostered the respective myths of the Virgin Queen, Glory of her Subjects, and the Scarlet Adulteress, Scotland's Disgrace. And once again the ecclesiast is proven wise—*vanitas vanitatum*.

FLORA GRIERSON.

"THROUGH RHYME'S VEXATION"

Poems. By MAIMIE A. RICHARDSON. Selwyn and Blount. 3s. 6d.

East London Poems and Others. By ARTHUR K. SABIN. Oxford House Book and Picture Shop. 7s. 6d.

Jezebel Mort and Other Poems. By ARTHUR SYMONS. Heinemann. 6s.

Selected Poems. By L. A. G. STRONG. Hamish Hamilton. 6s.

A Garden Revisited and Other Poems. By JOHN LEHMANN. Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d.

From Feathers to Iron. By C. DAY LEWIS. Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d.

Twittingpan and Some Others. By EDGELL RICKWORD. Wishart. 2s. 6d.

Rhymes of Darby to Joan. By H. W. FOWLER. Dent. 4s. 6d.

Of the eight books on this list it is noticeable (though it probably proves nothing) that the three best are those upon whose title-page the word "poems" does not appear at all, and of these three, again, the greatest is the one which modestly describes itself as *Rhymes*. Whereas the worst—but it is so easy to be unkind, and I should not like to discourage anybody from writing poetry, because it is such fun and so soothing to the ruffled soul. Donne said this, immortally, in *The Triple Fool*:

> Then as th' earth's inward narrow crooked lanes
> Do purge sea water's fretful salt away,
> I thought, if I could draw my pains
> Through rhyme's vexation, I should them allay.
> Grief brought to numbers cannot be so fierce,
> For he tames it, that fetters it in verse.

Not that any words of mine would really curb any poet by so much as a single stanza, because poetry, like murder, will out, and if it didn't the world would be even fuller of inhibitions than it is. All of which is another way of saying that writing poetry lets off steam. But it takes two to make a poem; letting off steam is not enough unless you can make the steam, so to speak, blow a whistle in the reader's mind, and you cannot do this if the steam is either insufficient or misdirected.

That, I think, is what is wrong with Mrs. Richardson's *Poems*. I felt a faint misgiving when, running my eye down the contents page, I came across "Wheat i' the Ear," "Tender as God's Breast" and "Sweet June Dusk." My misgiving was, on the whole, justified; yet, to be fair, there is nothing much wrong with these poems save too little steam. Or perhaps the steam has got dissipated by Mrs. Richardson's too fluent pen before it has time to blow the whistle. But there are two notable exceptions: one is "The Old Man Remembers," the other—in excellent dialect—"The Auld Sinner." If Mrs. Richardson would experiment further in this direction she might do some fine work. *East London Poems*, by Arthur K. Sabin, suffer from the same lack of steam. They are pleasant, sincere verses, and that is all: but here again there are two exceptions—"In Memoriam A.D.L." and "The Aspirant." The latter is a moving and revealing poem. The book is beautifully produced.

In *Jezebel Mort and Other Poems* Mr. Arthur Symons gives us a collection of his unpublished poems whose dates range from 1885 to the present time. I have so much respect for Mr. Symons as a poet, and so much gratitude to him for the many lovely things he has already given us, that this book leaves me both amazed and embarrassed. How can the same man who wrote *Laus Virginitatis*, *The Dance of the Daughters of Herodias* and the exquisite *Credo* bear to acknowledge as his own this mawkish and morbid farrago? There are 119 poems in the book: one of them, "Happiness," is as good as Mr. Symons at his best can be. So I suppose his ardent admirers, of whom I am one, must swallow the other 118 and be grateful.

Mr. L. A. G. Strong's *Selected Poems* have all appeared before in his earlier books, and are therefore so well known to his public that they need no comment here. I cannot, however, resist reminding you of the one which begins "Strain past your reach, And lease the valiant body to a dream," and ends

> Dream-ridden and disconsolate you stand
> With a lost paradise on either hand.

This tragic and beautiful lyric expresses the age-old dilemma of every poet in the world. Mr. John Lehmann's poems are fresh, musical and sensitive. He has yet to learn economy of adjectives—37 in 24 lines is, other things being equal, too many—but when he does restrain them (as in the Epilogue, which contains only eight in its sixteen lines) his thoughts carry twice as far. The twenty-nine poems in *From Feathers to Iron* are really a sequence, for they must be read in the right order to make sense, and unless you are very wide awake a good many of them will seem unintelligible even then. I admit that I read more than half the book before the meaning of it flashed upon me, and then I was so much interested and impressed that I read through the whole of it again, not once but twice. After saying this, I feel it would be unfair to Mr. Day Lewis to divulge his theme. His cryptic, elliptic, close-packed, difficult verse must speak for itself; and if, here and there, it fails to "blow the whistle," it is due not to insufficiency of steam but to a pressure too violent for escape. The intricate and ingenious pattern of internal rhymes in No. XIX, and the poignant last stanza of No. XXVII, are the two most memorable things in a very remarkable book.

Mr. Edgell Rickword writes admirable satire—an art which needs reviving. *Twittingpan* itself and "Hints for Making a Gentleman" are charmingly malicious, and "Advice to a Girl" is something more. In *Rhymes of Darby to Joan*, Mr. H. W. Fowler, of *Modern English Usage* (and other) fame, has allowed us the privilege of sharing in his greatest treasure—a completely and consciously happy married life, begun in middle age and continued until the death of "Joan" last year. As we read these scraps of verse, which he used to write and place under "Joan's" pillow for her to find on the morning of certain anniversaries, we feel ourselves becoming so absorbed in the progress of this domestic idyll that the end of it is almost unbearable. Mr. Fowler calls these offerings *Rhymes*: taken separately, perhaps, they are no more—though many an Elizabethan poet would have been proud had he written anything half as good as "Harmonious Discord"—but if this heart-rending book as a whole is not a poem, and a great one, it would be difficult to determine what is.

JAN STRUTHER.

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THE UNITY OF ART

The Meaning of Art. By HERBERT READ. Faber and Faber. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Read's survey of art from the Bushman to the Surrealist is a good example of the modern criticism which stands for coherence rather than disintegration. With Ruskin and his followers, criticism to a large extent implied competition, one school or one artist exalted at the expense of another. To them, good wine needed no Bushman. In Mr. Read's more humanistic view, art is a splendid unity, whose earliest and latest manifestations are of a common origin inspired by a common aim. Distinctions of method, but not of merit, are to be noted, so long as the product is genuine, and the thesis of this little book is so well expounded that it is not incongruous to find, among its many admirable illustrations, a Persian brocade next-door to a Byzantine mosaic.

The rocky fastnesses of aesthetic definition are surmounted nimbly, and the reader need not be alarmed, from the book's title, that it is a work of definition only. The historical exposition is by far the larger part, as it will be to many the more interesting, and it may even be regretted that Mr. Read, like most writers on the subject, has not reserved his philosophic argument for the end, giving his conducted tour of the gallery first. A discussion of general principle makes rather a grim introduction to too many books on art, and would be more palatable as a concluding summary of experience. It is another form of the old problem of learning to swim before entering the water. But there is no question of the author's skill in his presentation of the world's art-history, of the logical sequence and the compression that he has achieved. The book has plenty of good things, as when he points out that poetry is the distinguishing quality of landscape painting, and that a characteristic of the English tradition in landscape is a trust in nature, and nature in some sense a refuge from life. He says well, too, that, "Gothic, in spite of its confused origins and in spite of its chaotic developments, is indubitably the greatest type of art yet conceived by man," and that, "It is, however, a useless type of criticism that cannot accept an artist for his own merits." And it is refreshing to find a modern critic paying tribute to Fromentin as having written the best page on Rubens.

The sections on Baroque and Rococo show Mr. Read admirably keeping his head amid a sudden swirl of contemporary fashion, but in regard to illustration in art he is rather carried away by the prevailing trend. When he says of a Matisse, "The pattern achieved is not only a legitimate work of art, but also an intuitive apprehension of the subject far more vivid than any imitative representation could make it," the second half of his statement is not so impregnable as the first. And while illustration may easily be nobbled in the shape of Frith's *Derby Day*, it is not so simply disposed of in Hokusai, who is one of Mr. Read's admirations. But, on the whole, his argument carries him successfully over the continents and through the centuries, though a break seems to occur when he reaches the post-impressionists. Until then he expounds from the works alone, but with Cézanne, Van Gogh and Gauguin, he turns rather to the personality of the artists themselves. And Klee he praises for his representation of the preconscious, after having earlier emphasised the need of communication in art and condemned those artists who devote themselves to portraying their own sub-conscious. Surely between the preconscious and the sub-conscious there is not much to choose.

It may be regretted, too, that his enthusiasm for Mr. Henry Moore's sculpture leads him to assert that, "Since the fifteenth century sculpture has been a lost art in England," and, following closely, that, "We may say without exaggeration that the art of sculpture in England has been dead for four centuries." This is intemperate zeal, while in any case, to preserve the proportion of his book, some of the space afforded Mr. Moore might have been given to Brancusi. But if Mr. Read's handling of his subject becomes a little uncertain after 1900, he is a trustworthy and interesting guide for the longer part of the way.

T. W. EARP.

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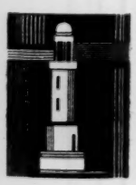

PHAROS EDITIONS

SHORTER NOTICES

Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century. By HELEN J. CRUMP. Longmans. 9s.

No. 5 of the Royal Empire Society's Imperial Studies, this monograph deals with the Admiralty Courts of the old Empire, which established of necessity to deal with piracy, smuggling and other breaches of the law at sea were nevertheless a source of continual trouble. Being Kings' Courts in colonies already self-governing in regard to the administration of the law, the jurisdiction and judgments of the admirals were denied or defied whenever they dealt with the Acts of Trade and Navigation or in any respect went contrary to the commercial interests of the colonial merchants. The narrative is well sustained by examples, and throws a vivid light on trading conditions during the seventeenth century.

The Legacy of Islam. Edited by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD and ALFRED GUILLAUME. Oxford University Press. 10s.

This is another of the admirable "Legacy Series"; and is as well balanced and as scholarly as any of its predecessors. Its compilation must have been one of the last works undertaken by Sir Thomas Arnold, who also contributes a very valuable chapter on the influence of Islamic art on European painting. There is a tendency to-day to underestimate the effect of our contact with Arab civilisation, and this book should prove a useful corrective. Mr. J. B. Trend, for example, in his chapter on "Spain and Portugal" shows that while a hundred years ago historians were inclined to exaggerate the importance of the "Moors in Spain," the reaction has now gone too far. Professor Nicholson contributes a very interesting chapter on Mysticism. It was Moslem philosophy which influenced mystical speculation during the Middle Ages, and has survived as a tradition until modern times. Baron Carra de Vaux succeeds in proving that we owe the Moslems the science of algebra, and even that bane of one's schooldays, spherical trigonometry. There are also two admirably illustrated and well-written articles on architecture, and the influence of the Islamic minor arts.

GRAMOPHONE NOTES

RUSSIAN COMPOSERS

MUSICAL prejudices are remarkably obstinate and lingering growths. Perhaps because they are formed more instinctively and at an earlier age than our purely artistic prejudices, perhaps because theorising about music has in the main been the work of hide-bound journalists rather than enlightened philosophers.

A child is already lisping the words "significant form" and gazing at Picasso's Blue Picture Book at a time when his musical experiences have carried him little farther than the mellifluous harmonies of the Rev. John Bacchus Dykes. The average hearty amateur (if I may be allowed the phrase) who thinks nothing of decorating his rooms with reproductions of Max Ernst or Salvador Dali, still looks at music through the eyes of the nineteenth-century German.

This particular attitude has very likely disappeared entirely from Germany itself, but just as until recently one would search for the African Bush Pig, not in the wilds of Portuguese East Africa, but in the homelier atmosphere of Regent's Park, so we find Teutonic pedagogy carrying on its surly existence in the enclosures provided by the columns of our weightier English newspapers.

One of the favourite tenets of this school of thought is that only German composers can write satisfactory symphonies, and that the Russian school, far from being able to produce good symphonies, simply cannot construct a work at all.

The average listener has so few opportunities of correcting the prejudice formed in his mind by the repeated misstatements of our musical pundits that he is inclined to accept without question this "hasty and sweeping thesis." He is confirmed, moreover, in his prejudices by over-frequent performances of the most superficial Russian works like *Scheherazade*, or by performances of the less well-known works, in which the tempi are so gratuitously distorted that any feeling of balance and construction does indeed disappear.

Balakirev's magnificent symphonic poem *Thamar* is a work which is either completely disregarded or looked upon merely as an orchestral fantasy in the style of *Scheherazade*. Yet a careful study of this work alone (setting on one side for the moment Balakirev's other fine orchestral works) reveals the fact that Balakirev had an extremely subtle sense of form, indeed a genius for architectural construction that was all too rare in "the romantic movement." For sheer academic ability in combining and developing his themes he has few equals, but fortunately this ability is employed, not in a mistaken attempt to continue the Beethoven tradition, but in the creation of new and intensely personal forms. With *Thamar* the symphonic poem really attains symphonic weight and dignity.

We see with this work how ridiculously superficial is the division of music into "romantic" and "classical." Nothing could be more wildly "romantic" than Lermontov's poem with its "*péri mystérieuse—mollement étendue*" and its "*rapide torrent, affolé d'épouvante,*" and Balakirev gives us all the exoticism of the poem and more. This is no oriental pastiche; the sombre richness of harmony and orchestration and the almost hysterical frenzy of the rhythmic patterns are unequalled even in Russian music. Yet the real strength of this work lies in its formal balance which, without following any set tradition, has a subtle symmetry that can only be called "classical." One is not surprised to find that the work is the fruit of well over ten years of thought. (Incidentally, the length of time spent over the composition and revision of *Thamar* explains certain passages which some people consider influenced by other Russian works which were published at an earlier date. In reality, it was these earlier works which were influenced by the then unperformed *Thamar*.)

It is perhaps a pity that most people have made their first acquaintance with this music through the Diaghilev ballet. The rather strident *décor* of Bakst and the strenuous choreography of Fokine, though admirable in themselves, were a little too emphatic and underlined for this particular score. Moreover, the subtle relationship of the tempi was often disturbed in the interests of the dancing. An unfortunate tradition has sprung up through which conductors perform this work with the tempi adopted by Fokine and not those strictly indicated by Balakirev himself.

It is difficult for either audience or conductor to approach this work without the associations of the ballet in their mind and M. Piero Coppola, who has recorded *Thamar* for French H.M.V. with the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire (2 12 in. DB4801–2), is not altogether to be blamed if his reading is more picturesque than subtle. The playing and recording of this remarkably intricate score are, on the whole, admirable, and until the fourth side I congratulated myself that here at last was one of my favourite works in an accessible form.

Unfortunately, on the fourth side occurs one of the most grossly inartistic cuts I have ever known. Balakirev had too symphonic a mind to be able to "tell a story" in music and (in a manner

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reminiscent of Conrad's novels) he reserves his emotional climax for the peroration in which the narrative climax is seen, so to speak, in retrospect.

The coda of *Thamar* is amongst the most moving passages in music, and is an emotional and formal summing up of the whole work. To cut out 23 bars (no small cut in this slow tempo) is frankly inexcusable. The work should have been recorded on five sides with a shorter and possibly more popular work on the sixth side. It is clearly up to H.M.V. to re-record this section or for some other company to give us *Thamar* in an ungarbled version.

Another, though admittedly less glaring, instance of the ruthless way in which Russian works are presented to us, is provided by Albert Coates' performance of Borodin's Second Symphony in B minor (Swiss H.M.V. 3 12 in., DB1554–6). This symphony starts off at a brisk tempo with a vigorous theme which in the recapitulation is presented to us in an augmented form. The effect of this powerful augmentation is entirely lost if at its first appearance the theme is played at rather less than half the indicated speed. (I am not exaggerating. The score marks minim = 92, whereas the conductor gives us crotchet = 84, or thereabouts). The melodic repetitions of this movement are often instanced as an example of Russian inability to develop subject-matter. It is quite clear from the masterly use of thematic development shown in the finale that Borodin's insistent hammering on the first subject of the first movement is merely an example of the melodic *idée fixe* of which Beethoven's Fifth Symphony provides the classic example. (Besides, Borodin's skill in developing his themes had been amply proved by his charming First Symphony in E flat.)

Apart from the interpretation of the opening passages this is a very fair performance of the work. Timpani and double-bass passages are weak, but otherwise the recording is sonorous and the L.S.O. play with their usual vigour and fine ensemble. I should not like to think that I have dissuaded anyone from making or renewing acquaintance with these works through the gramophone. There are many good features in both recordings, but the authenticity of the interpretations can only be accepted with certain grave reservations.

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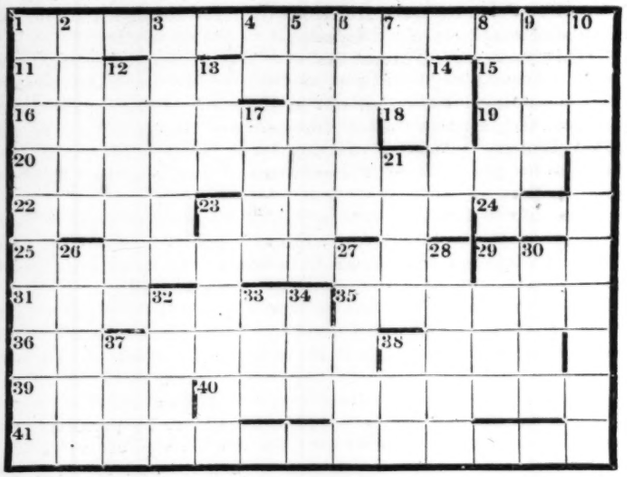

HAWKS AND HANDSAWS

ACROSS

1. Condition of wind most favourable to the differentiation of hawks from handsaws.
11. Mr. Heep's handshake.
15. Game at the end of the battle.
16. Helps me to determine "it ain't gonna rain no mo'."
18. With 4 *dn.* reversed = 14 *dn.*
19. Mona's initials'
20. Relapse on the part of Adam and Eve.
22. I've lost my den in Saxony.
23. I've abandoned my little cell.
24, 29. Real enough in the city.
25. Return of Miss Gracie Fields.
29. See 24.
31. Fourth Sunday in Lent.
35. Get your robe on and look for a king.
36. Takes place under a bonnet.
38. Here be half the population.
39. This slant had a turning.
40. Just shuts up.
41. They supported Charles I.

DOWN

1. A little bagpipe goes a long way.
2. What you will be by the time you've finished the puzzle.
3. Thin but woolly.
4. See 18 *ac.* and 4 *dn.*
5. "Nerves all of a jangle."
6. A reverse on Christmas eve.
7. Presumed end of Horatius.
8. Eminent Victorian.
9. Early and so on.
10. State not recorded by the sundial.
12. Period of the world's dawn.
13. Pike.
14. The silk I smuggled in at Dover.
17. Ours is not a nice house, ours isn't.
21. Hurried departure, tail first.
23. Has reference to the journey.
26. An unbeliever turns up.
27. This was the most muddled Roman of them all.
28. A yielding up; on's off.
29. No company here.
30. Oft loses both itself and friend.
32. Slashed upwards.
33. All on edge.
34 *rev.* My bird said, Nevermore.
37. Neither gets a fair start.
38. Sounds like beer.

LAST WEEK'S CROSSWORD

ACROSS.—1. capital. 6. sym. 9. dil(ate). 12. hearing. 15. Tri(nculo). 16. (dil)ate. 17. Lorelei. 18. renoes (crones). 19. Oliver. 20. (rai)ment. 21. rat. 22. riser. 23. ocelot. 24. fn (Fane). 26. oasis. 28. nitri(c). 30. asi(nine). 31. Nile. 33. daemonic. 36. oral. 38. locksmith. 41. Lehar *rev.* 42. skates. 43. ae. 44. mitres. 45. stylish.

DOWN.—1. chloroform. 2. aeolian. 3. Paris ("M. de Paris" operates the guillotine). 4. tilers. 5. aneroid. 6. street. 7. "Milnery." 8. Minto. 10. satisfacti(on). 11. lest. 13. reveille. 14. gimcrack. 16. aorta. 25. niche. 27. Thais *rev.* 29. lemon *rev.* 32. elle. 34. take *rev.* 35. nisi. 37. rai(ment). 39. (j)oss. 40. sty ("The Constant Nymph").

THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE

"We'd a terrible time getting here," writes Sir George. "I had with me the four natives, Sambo, Jumbo, Tembo and Limbo. I could not leave Jumbo with either Sambo or Tembo, or Tembo with Limbo. Our canoe only holds two, and Sambo and I are the only ones who can handle it. Imagine the time we had crossing the Limpopo and the number of journeys we had to make."

How many journeys did the canoe make, and how did Sir George get his party across?

LAST WEEK'S PUZZLE

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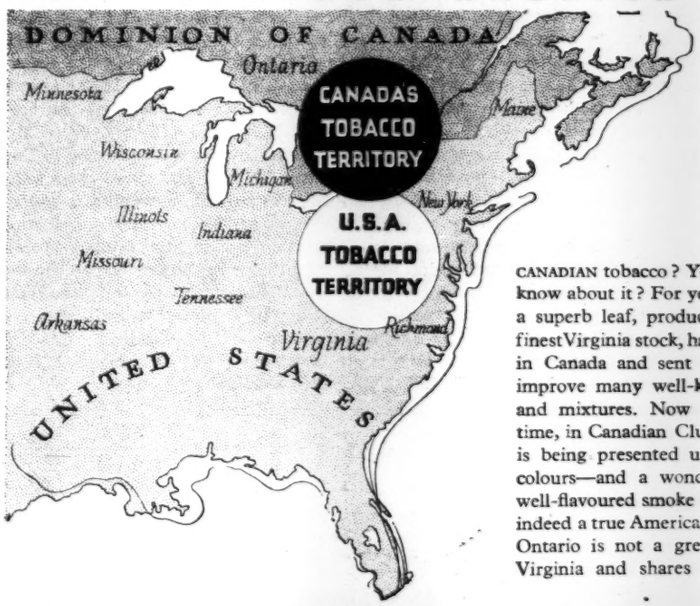

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THE WEEK IN THE CITY

By TOREADOR

A HOPEFUL CHANGE IN SENTIMENT—A GILT-EDGED BOOMLET—THE MIRACLE OF THE £30,000,000—BANK RATE

IN this page of THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION, I do my best to hold up a mirror to the more enlightened opinion in the City, reserving my freedom, of course, to pour a little scorn or ridicule on the more foolish. At the moment I find it difficult to present a picture which is not obscure and blurred in outline. Sentiment is mixed: opinion is changing very rapidly. The hour is pregnant with alarming possibilities for good or evil. On the one side the cry is heard that the world has gone raving mad and is rushing, like the herd of Gadarene swine, to destruction. This view is supported by the growth of national intransigence, by the tariff and exchange barriers which are being erected against the flow of international trade, by the increase in note hoarding and the danger of further bank failures on the Continent and in America, by the breakdown of municipal credit and the collapse in city real estate values in Central Europe and in the United States, by the depletion of company surpluses and the curtailment of industrial production, and so on. On the other side the opinion is more freely expressed that the statesmen of Europe and America are fully conscious that the game of reparations and war debts is up, that they are merely haggling about the fine points of procedure they should adopt in a last effort to save their faces, that public opinion is changing and will sooner or later sweep the statesmen away if they do not do their jobs properly, that the great trading countries of the world are much more ready to-day to discuss the lowering of tariffs and the removal of exchange restrictions, and that the ruin of international trade is making commercial men throughout the world desperately anxious to stop political nonsense and get back to normal trading relations.

* * *

Up to this point I have been more impressed with the possibilities of a World Economic Suicide Club than of the chances of a World Sunshine Society. But there is a change in the business situation which seems to me important, although it is merely psychological. It is a change of feeling among what I may call the professional finance crowd—the professional financiers or investors who move their funds from market to market, whether it be commodities or securities, or from country to country, wherever there seems to be a chance of making a quick profit. These astute and (if I may use the vulgarism) hard-boiled gentry appear now to be more willing to gamble on the chances of the statesmen doing the sane and constructive thing—if only because the world's economic troubles are too obvious not to be noticed even by the political mind. Speculation, in other words, is rearing its head. This may explain the firm "undertone" in the commodity and security markets and the tendency for international counters on the leading Stock Exchanges to rise sharply whenever there is the least evidence of a constructive move on the part of Governments. The dropping of the gold standard by Great Britain in September last year was the first step forward. The recent passing into law of the $2,000 millions Reconstruction Finance Corporation, authorised to make loans to banking institutions, to building and loan associations and to insurance companies, is the most constructive action yet taken by the American Government to stem the tide of bank failures, to stop gold and note hoarding, to release the pent-up money resources and to restore business confidence. Coupled with an easy-money policy on the part of the Federal Reserve Board, this measure has every chance of "making the inflation work," that is, of causing a rise in commodity and security prices. The report that a pool has been formed in the shares of Kreuger and Toll is, if correct, a sign of the change in speculative sentiment. And greatest portent of all—the Committee of the Stock Exchange has restored contango dealings.

* * *

If my diagnosis is correct, we shall see in the next few weeks or months the "bulls" overpowering the "bears" and a rise in both commodity and security prices. In fact, the rise may be sharp rather than gradual, because there is an extensive short interest to be liquidated in some markets. Whether this will be the beginning of the end of the slump I dare not guess. One well-known investment prophet has boldly circulated to his clients the advice: Buy now for the low prices of January, 1932, will not be seen again for seven years. This may sound somewhat biblical, as if the prophet had been taking his line from some inspired inscription on the Great Pyramid, but it is advice based upon a not unreasonable view of the commodity and security markets and a scientific reading of the security price charts. On the other hand, some authorities in New York, for whom I have great respect, predict an immediate temporary improvement in the American financial situation but another severe crisis about midsummer. Meanwhile the market in British funds is setting a fine example to the rest. The renewed confidence in sterling, the announcement by the Bank of England that the £30 millions remaining of the £50 millions credits will be repaid on February 1st without further sales of gold, have combined to cause a minor boom in the gilt-edged market.

* * *

With every single rise there are always a dozen rumours and on this occasion there is some wild talk of a gigantic scheme for the conversion of the national debt—a reduction in the nominal rate of interest to be offset by a reduction in direct taxation. Seeing that the *rentier* classes have enjoyed a rise in real income on account of the fall in commodity prices, a reduction in the nominal rate of interest is only a fair contribution to make to a country burdened by internal debt, whether or not their direct taxes are to be reduced. Apart from this rumour, the market is forecasting 6d. off the income-tax in the next Budget and a reduction in Bank rate this week or next. Whether the latter will be timed to coincide with a reduction in the New York Federal Reserve rate remains to be seen, but as the £30 millions are to be repaid without recourse to gold, and there is no longer any question of raising the fiduciary issue, a reduction in Bank rate is certainly both desirable and justified. In fact, if it is not reduced immediately there may be an unwanted influx of foreign funds to the London market and a rise in sterling above the level which is desirable for purposes of our export trade. The repayment of the £30 millions must not be regarded as indicating that our international trading account is satisfactorily balanced. An exchange balance is quite different from a trading balance. The Indian gold influx probably saved the situation.

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January 30, 1932

THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION

Disarmament Supplement

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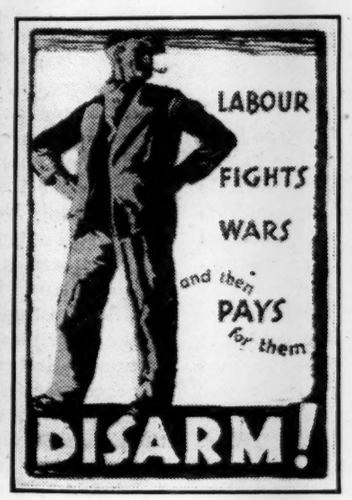
SELECTION OF DISARMAMENT POSTERS *See page 146*



ISSUES OF THE CONFERENCE

IT is idle to pretend that most people hope very much from the Disarmament Conference. They have seen the failure of the League to prevent the triumph of old methods of imperialism in Manchuria; they have watched too many conferences, expert wrangles and political sophistries. Armaments are not themselves the chief cause of war. They are the symptom of the social disease of nationalism. It is thirteen years since we forced disarmament upon Germany and her allies, solemnly asserting as we did so that their disarmament was a preliminary to our own disarmament. Why have we not fulfilled that promise? Because armaments are part of the organisation of "sovereign" States, which claim still, in spite of covenants and arbitration treaties, to act as judges and executioners in their own disputes. Because we are still irrationally and even neurotically nationalistic in our outlook; because fear still rules the world; because our values are wrong; because, finally, in a society so meaningless and purposeless as ours to-day, many people are in their hearts ready for war again, since it seems, ironically enough, to be one activity which offers an opportunity for generous idealism. Unless we can find "a moral equivalent for war," in an exciting and deliberate effort to rebuild our society, men and women will continue periodically to be ready to respond to the propaganda of the vested interests in war, and will listen, as they have listened on both sides in every war-crisis, to the calls of patriotism (a vice in an international world), to the cry that this war is unlike other wars, that it is fought for self-defence, to end war, to bring Christianity and justice, and all the rest of the time-dishonoured phrases which ring so falsely to-day, but which seemed to most people true in England, Germany, and France in 1914.

The Individual Solution

Many—we believe an increasing number of people—consider the whole effort at Geneva to have failed. They watch the same old men who made the last war repeating their pious phrases and ineffective actions; they face the appalling prospect of a war in the air which will make civilised life on land impossible, and they turn to an individualistic solution. They may justify it on political or on religious grounds. They advocate unilateral disarmament and personal resistance to war. With that attitude we have sympathy, and if the present Conference fails it is bound in our view to gain new adherents everywhere. But for the world as a whole it is a gospel of desperation. The disarmament of Great Britain might not make the country any less "safe" from attack than it is to-day. But it would not prevent war. As long as we can hope anything from the attempt to build world security on collective police action, we ought to continue that attempt.

Experts and Politicians

One reason why disarmament conferences achieve so little is that we do not know how to use our experts. The expert necessarily begins with the old assumption that armaments mean security, and security, when analysed, really amounts to a claim of supremacy over other nations. And all nations cannot be stronger than all others. These assumptions run through the trenchant article we publish to-day from Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, one of the most enlightened and least orthodox of experts. If the politician says to the expert: "This is our policy, work out the ways of carrying it out," something is achieved—as it was achieved in naval disarmament at the Washington Conference. If, on the other hand, experts are asked: "What can be achieved?" the answer is in effect "Nothing." Washington failed to do anything about the air: the problem of air armaments was passed over to the experts, who reported that air limitation was impracticable because the air force of no country was yet complete!

What Should British Policy Be at the Conference?

The two great questions of principle before the Conference will be those indicated by the words "equality" and "security."

As regards "equality"—the question which primarily concerns Germany—we need add nothing to the article which Mr. W. Arnold Forster contributes to this Supplement. Ever since the war the German people have shown astonishing patience. That patience is exhausted. This year's Conference may be the last chance of keeping Germany in the League. Its failure means that Germany will assert her own right to re-arm. Great Britain should stand for unqualified recognition of the principle of equality of status in disarmament. It is a moral as well as a technical issue. Let us frankly reject the old self-righteous assumption of Germany's sole war guilt and recognise that if certain classes of arms can be forbidden to Germany they can be forbidden to other nations as well.

As to "security," what do we mean by it? Does it mean that each nation should be able to enforce its own will in the last resort? Or do we mean by "security" the collective assurance of respect for the principle of third-party judgment in international disputes? Surely the only way towards peace and prosperity is the way of collective responsibility, and in so far as French policy has really been based on this principle that true "security" is a collective interest, it deserves our support. We believe that those in this country who slur over the obligations of the Covenant, and urge that we should regard ourselves as free to honour or dishonour those obligations just as we think fit in each particular case, do grave disservice to peace and play into the hands of the French militarists.

To-day Britain's reputation for loyalty to the conception of collective security stands extremely low. Those who doubt our good faith have only too much reason for their distrust. Public opinion in this country has, for the most part, little realisation as yet of the full implications of the collective principle; and the political leaders, with a few honourable exceptions such as Mr. Henderson and Lord Cecil, have done little to spread recognition of the real price of peace. Our imperialists and isolationists are, of course, definitely hostile to the whole principle. But the opponents of the collective principle have two substantial arguments on their side. What is the use, they can say, of affirming the principle of solidarity against a peace-breaker when what the French really want is a guarantee that the *status quo* of Versailles shall remain forever unchanged? And how can we safely give any reassurance as to our co-operation in stopping a peace-breaker, when the Americans still hold themselves free to challenge and stultify the League's war-stopping measures?

These are real difficulties. In so far as French policy does stand for maintenance of an immutable *status quo*, it stands for a hopeless enterprise which this country will not and should not guarantee. What we can rightly stand for is the principle that the *status quo* must not be changed by war, but only by such means as are suggested, but unfortunately still only suggested, in Article XIX of the Covenant.

Then there is the difficulty of the position of America. It is still true (despite the implications of the Kellogg Pact and despite the American support in the Manchurian crisis of the principles of the Covenant) that we have no explicit assurance that our co-operation in collective action against a peace-breaker might not bring us into collision with America. The would-be peace-breaker can still gamble on the possibility that the League Council may be paralysed by fear of an American challenge. We suggest two steps. First, we should seek an assurance from the United States that if they are themselves satisfied that war is being resorted to in

breach of the Covenant or Pact, they will not seek to stultify the League's peace-keeping and war-stopping measures, and will not support their citizens in aiding the peace-breaker.

Secondly, fortified by this assurance, we should make plain, in our dealings with the French, that we do mean "loyally and effectively" to honour our obligations as regards collective security in accordance with the terms of the Covenant and Locarno. We might even, if necessary, agree to giving some further precision to these obligations. But at the same time we should make plain that we hold the view that the League's sanctions should be used not to enforce the will of any nation or group of allied nations, not to guarantee existing injustice, but solely to prevent or, in the last resort, to stop a breach of the covenanted peace.

Technical Issues

Among the most important measures of disarmament which should be pressed by the British delegation in particular, there is, first, the abolition, or, failing that, the non-replacement, of all warships of more than 10,000 tons. It has been alleged that the British Government's intention is to propose replacement of battleships, when the present battleship holiday expires in 1935, by new battleships with a tonnage limit of something under 25,000 tons and with a reduced limit of gun calibre. This proposal would be the same as that submitted by Mr. Bridgeman to the Coolidge Conference in 1927, except that the tonnage limit was then "something under 30,000 tons." But this would contribute nothing towards application of the principle of equality, nothing towards reduction of the danger of fully equipped attack; it would inevitably increase the danger of armament competition, since Italy and France would probably take a hand in the game; and it would add enormously to the burdens of the Chancellor of the Exchequer after 1935. If this proposal is again submitted—and we fear from Mr. Alexander's article that even he does not expect much more in this direction—efforts will no doubt be made, as in 1927, to represent it as a substantial contribution towards economy and disarmament. It will be nothing of the sort, and we believe that public opinion is alive to the futility of maintaining monster battleships which are now politically, as well as technically, obsolete.

Next, the delegation, in proposing again the abolition of the submarine, should realise the futility of doing so unless we are prepared to pay a reasonable price. We ought to contribute, on the one hand, the abolition of the capital ship, and, on the other hand, the explicit acceptance of the Wilsonian doctrine of freedom of the seas. In other words, in return for a substantial instalment of disarmament, we should join in renunciation of "blockade" as a national weapon.

As regards heavy artillery, the position contemplated in the Draft Convention, whereby Germany would still be prohibited from having any heavy artillery whatever whilst her neighbours would be left wholly unrestricted except for a limitation on the total expenditure on land material, is preposterous. We should accept now the principle of direct limitation, as regards at least the larger weapons of land warfare; and we should propose abolition of all artillery of more than a certain calibre, as in Germany's case.

What Would be Achieved?

But if a reduction on these lines is achieved, what will it amount to? In view of the crisis in Germany, it will be of immense psychological and political importance. It will mean that there is a smaller vested interest in arms. It will mean a longer "time-lag" between a political crisis and national readiness to go to war. It will mean that, instead of a new and threatening competition in arms—one of the sure signs of approaching war—we shall have a new period in which new reductions and new reconstruction of Europe will be possible. Finally, it will mean an economic relief which few people yet appreciate. If the Conference fails, this country will be entitled by treaty—and in the atmosphere of insecurity that would follow there would be a great pressure to build up to the limit prescribed in the Treaty of London—to build 91,000 tons of cruisers between 1931-6, about eighteen destroyers a year and a very large number of submarines. The United States similarly could build $1,000,000,000 of new naval armament. If—leaving aside expenditure on the land and air—we add the normal battleship replacement after 1935, which would be one or two replacements a year at seven or eight millions apiece, we are confronted with a prospect which spells simple national bankruptcy. We are already spending £200 a minute on preparation for war.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

THE Disarmament Conference which opens next week is not a stunt invented by idealists at Geneva. It represents an attempt, a long overdue attempt, to escape from a monstrous burden and a pressing danger, and to redeem pledges solemnly given by Governments and peoples. Nearly thirteen years ago, at the Peace Conference in Paris, the "Allied and Associated Powers" assured Germany that they envisaged a general reduction and limitation of armaments. That assurance was presently made more precise in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Article VIII of the Covenant stresses the need of "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety," and lays the duty on the League Council of formulating plans for such reduction.

No indecent haste was shown in carrying out these obligations, and the burden of armaments remained—and remains to-day—little less oppressive than in 1919. In the Locarno protocol of 1925 the chief European Powers explicitly renewed their old pledges, and very shortly afterwards a Commission was set up by the Council of the League to prepare the ground for a world conference. The Commission struggled with its task for the next five years, and the final result of its labours was a draft Convention of sixty clauses, the framework of a treaty for an all-round limitation and reduction of land, sea and air armaments. This document constitutes the programme of the Conference.

The draft Convention contained a restricted measure of agreement on principles—though not on all, for on some points of the first importance the Preparatory Commission was hopelessly divided. Some proposals to which one or another State attached the greatest weight were voted down. There were numerous reservations, either to the Convention as a whole (Germany, Turkey, Norway and the Irish Free State all put in general reservations) or to particular clauses. And no one is committed to any precise figures; these are for the Conference itself to decide. The Conference may possibly make a better showing than did the Preparatory Commission, but it is obvious that it will have to face bitter and violent controversies. The main points of the draft Convention may be put under five heads.

(1) *Limitation of Personnel.* This means the fixing of a maximum of peace-time effectives in land, sea and air forces and in semi-military organisations, such as police, customs or forest guards. Calculations are to be made on the basis of a formula which divides the total number of days' duty performed in any year by the number of days in the year. And besides this, in countries where conscription is in force, the period of service is to be limited. Here emerges one of the main issues over which the Preparatory Commission wrangled long and hotly. Ought "trained reserves" to be included in the limitations? France leads the group which insists that they should not. Germany and several other States protest that without the limitation

of trained reserves, the reduction of armed forces becomes a farce. Great Britain and the United States began by supporting the Germans in this obviously common-sense view, but eventually declared that they would concede the point to France.

(2) *Limitation of Material.* Apart from the limits which are to be put on the total annual expenditure on all fighting forces, separate methods are laid down for limiting land, sea and air war-material. And here again there is a sharp cleavage of opinion—this time between the partisans of direct and indirect, or budgetary, limitation. Germany is for the direct method, and the United States, Italy and Russia agree, though the two latter would apply both methods together. Great Britain, France and a number of others favour the budgetary method, so far as land armaments are concerned. This carried the day in the Preparatory Commission by 16 votes to three, with six abstentions. As regards sea and air armaments, the direct method is to be applied, but budgetary limitation comes in as a subsidiary. The question that vexed the London Naval Conference in 1930, whether warships should be limited by total tonnage or by categories, is settled on the lines proposed by France. No fleet is to exceed a certain aggregate tonnage. Each State is to show how its total tonnage is distributed among five different categories—capital ships, aircraft-carriers, cruisers, destroyers and submarines—and it may, under definite conditions, exercise the right to transfer tonnage from one to another of these categories. Limits are also to be put on the tonnage and gun calibre of certain classes of ship; merchant vessels are not to be prepared in peace-time for conversion to war purposes; and annual expenditure on naval war-material of all kinds is to be restricted. War planes and dirigibles are to be limited both by number and total horse-power. Civil aircraft must not be adapted in time of peace for conversion into fighting machines; and subsidies must not be given to air-lines principally established for military purposes.

On nearly all of these matters there are differences of opinion, some serious, and reservations have been made by various Governments. No adequate solution, it is clear, has been found of the awkward problems arising from the relations between civil and military aviation. The Preparatory Commission was against the drastic proposal of Germany to ban altogether the launching of offensive weapons from the air. It likewise rejected the milder British proposal to limit annual expenditure on the maintenance, purchase and manufacture of war-material for the air.

(3) *Chemical Warfare.* This, which promises to be the sovereign terror, is very shortly disposed of. States are to agree, subject to reciprocity, not to use any asphyxiating or poisonous gases or liquids. They are to agree unreservedly not to use bacteria as weapons. Great Britain and some others want to include tear-gas in the list of prohibitions; this is left to the Conference to decide. The German demand for including big guns and tanks did not get much support. Nor did the Soviet proposal to destroy, within three months of the coming into force of the Convention, all methods and appliances connected with chemical and bacteriological warfare.

(4) *Publicity.* The articles under this head provide for the exchange of information about the categories of men and material in which limitation has been accepted. It is proposed that civil aeroplanes and public expenditure on civil aviation should be included in the list. Some States have demurred to this mainly on the ground that a separate convention is required for civil aviation. Other reservations are based on the alleged impossibility of giving accurate information about troops in overseas territory.

(5) *Miscellaneous.* A Permanent Disarmament Commission is to be set up at Geneva to see that the provisions of the Convention are duly carried out. Nobody disagrees with this in principle; but there are some divergent views about its composition and certain of its functions. A provision is made whereby any State, which thinks that a change of circumstances constitutes a menace to its national security, may suspend its limitations, on giving full notice. To that only the Russians object; they oppose any system of derogations. And, finally, it is laid down that the Convention does not affect the provisions of previous treaties limiting the armaments of certain States, and that any State may make the observance of such provisions an essential condition of its accepting the Convention. Germany, not unnaturally, is vehement against this, since it would re-rivet on her the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty. France, backed by Poland, Jugoslavia and Rumania, will die in the last ditch for it.

THE ECONOMICS OF DISARMAMENT

WE know little as yet about the economics of disarmament, for, apart from a few limited experiments, such as the enforced disarmament of Germany, and the contributions made at Washington in 1923, the world has never disarmed. If it had disarmed in 1918 it might, by this time, be enjoying its economic millennium instead of being afflicted with the fiercest economic war in history. We all know that armaments are economic waste, but the arithmetic of the subject provokes a good deal of argument. I will begin with the few statistics which are not controversial.

The first table, for which I am indebted to the *Economist*, gives the defence expenditures in the budgets of the Great Powers for each of the years 1928 to 1930 and for the yearly average in the period 1909 to 1913. The real economic cost of the defence organisation of any country is, of course, very much higher than the amount of defence expenditure (army, navy and air forces) voted in the national budget. The economic dislocation caused, for example, by compulsory military service for adult wage-earners or by the protection of "key" industries which are not working on a profit-earning basis, or by the maintenance of strategic railways and roads which are not paying their commercial way—all this extra-budgetary cost attributable to defence purposes cannot be calculated in pounds, shillings and pence. Moreover, some countries (such as Hungary) include in their civil budget items which might properly figure under the heading of armament expenditure. The budgetary figures which follow are, therefore, minimum figures and are given merely to show that the Great Powers have learnt no economic lessons from the last war. They have all, with the forced exception of Germany, increased their defence expenditures over the 1909-13 averages. If Great Britain is shown up in relatively favourable colours, there is little cause for self-congratulation.

In Million £'s (gold).

DEFENCE EXPENDITURES (*excluding* Pensions).

	Average 1909/13.	1928.	1929.	1930.	Per cent. Increase over 1909/13 Average.
Great Britain	64.0	99.9	99.0	95.0	48
France	60.0	79.2	98.7	94.0	57
Germany	70.0	37.6	33.8	35.1	— 50†
Italy	25.0	52.7	50.4	53.6	114
U.S.A.	61.7	138.9	146.2	145.4	135
Japan	19.7*	48.8	48.0	48.0	143
TOTAL GREAT POWERS ..	376.4	557.7	595.0	590.0	57

* Average 1910–1914. † Decrease.

Some two years ago Mr. P. Jacobsen, formerly of the Economic Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, calculated from the national budgets that Europe as a whole was spending about £524 millions a year on armaments (£40–45 millions more than in 1913) and the world something like £890 millions. Of the world total he found that 60 per cent. was accounted for by European countries and 20 per cent. by the United States, but that if due regard were paid to the extra-budgetary charges resulting from compulsory military service, strategic railways and roads, etc., which were higher in Europe than in the United

States, Europe was probably responsible for not less than two-thirds and the United States for about one-sixth of the world's real outlay on armaments. It strikes the Americans very forcibly that their country, with about 35 per cent. of the world's income, should account for under 17 per cent. of the world's armament expenditure while Europe, with a similar percentage of the world's income, should account for 66 per cent.

The estimates which Mr. Jacobsen compiled for the years 1913 and 1928 of defence expenditures as percentages of the national incomes are given in the next table:

ARMAMENTS AND NATIONAL INCOMES.
National Currency in gold (000,000's omitted).

Country.	Currency.	Year.	Estimated National Income.	Armaments Expenditure.*	Armaments Expenditure as a Percentage of National Income. Per cent.
Great Britain ..	£	1913	2,253	77	3.4
		1928	3,800	115	3.0
France	Francs	1913	37,500	2,062	5.5
		1928	250,000	11,400	4.6
Italy	Lira	1913	20,000	737	3.2
		1928	110,000	4,761	4.3
Germany	Mark	1913	45,000	2,056	4.6
		1928	60,000	766	1.3
U.S.A.	$	1913	34,400	491	1.4
		1928	80,000	868	1.1

* Including ordinary pensions (but not war pensions), whenever data are available.

It will be seen that the United States spend only about 1 per cent. of their national income on armaments, or less than any European country, whether disarmed under the Peace Treaties or not. Mr. Jacobsen observed that if Europe devoted to armaments the same percentage of its aggregate income as the United States, it would be spending at the rate not of £524 millions but of £160 millions. "This would mean," he said, "universal reduction to the level of armaments now obtaining in Switzerland or Austria, in other words, the elimination of all aggressive elements in the defence organisations of European countries."

The opponents of disarmament usually argue that, even if expenditure on armaments is economic waste, it represents so small a percentage of the national income as not to matter. This argument, which at first sight seems plausible enough, is open to two objections.

In the first place, every pound spent on armaments is lessening the potential savings of the nation and diminishing the supply of capital on the long-term capital market. I do not maintain that every pound spent on our defence services is a pound taken out of the capital market, for the expenditure on the food, clothing and maintenance of the personnel of the fighting forces is money taken from one British pocket and transferred to another. But the loss to the capital market out of the £109 millions appropriated in our last Budget to defence expenditures is very great and one that we can ill afford when the national savings are declining. We may not feel the loss while the slump in new issues lasts, but when trade revives and industry begins to make calls upon the capital market, we shall be short of, say, £50 millions a year spent on unproductive works of defence. This £50 millions might have been invested each year in industrial works productive of new wealth and employment.

In the second place, the figures of defence expenditure may seem small in relation to the national income, but are large in relation to Government revenues. If we take our first budget for 1931-32, we find approximately £340 millions earmarked for the service of war debt, £53 millions for war pensions and £109 millions for current armament expenditure out of a budget total (excluding "self-balancing" services) of £795 millions. Thus nearly 50 per cent. of the budget went to pay for past wars and 13.7 per cent. towards preparation for future wars. In other words, 63¾ per cent. is attributable to war. That is, no doubt, why we have to economise on social services and the education of the people. The burden of war debts for Great Britain will become all the more apparent if and when reparations and

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the Allied war debts to America are wiped out. This would leave Great Britain with an internal debt of £150 per head compared with £56 per head for France and £8 per head for Germany.

An analysis of the French budget gives equally striking results. Roughly 40 per cent. goes for debt service, 11 per cent. for war pensions and 19 per cent. for the military and naval forces—70 per cent. devoted to past and future wars. In the American Federal budget, which is more limited in scope than the budget of such centralised States as Great Britain and France, about 80 per cent. of the total is devoted to war debt, war pensions and current armament expenditure. Sweden, which has enjoyed peace for 100 years, spends less than 20 per cent. of its State revenue on defence purposes. We need not wonder that Sweden has one of the best educational systems in Europe. To spend from 60 per cent. to 80 per cent. of our Government incomes on armaments is the way we Europeans help to keep our masses unemployed and unenlightened. Unfortunately, there is no means by which we can measure with any degree of accuracy the cost of this appalling waste.

E. H. DAVENPORT.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY IN DISARMAMENT

ONE of the gravest political issues now before us is, as this paper recently said, "the Franco-German clash over the fundamental principle of equality." What should British policy be as regards this issue?

On the one hand, there is the official French claim, stated in uncompromising language in their memorandum to the League last July. "Should an attempt be made, in the name of a theoretical principle of equality, to *modify the relative situation* created by the provisions of Part V of the Peace Treaties, it would prove impossible to maintain the reductions already accomplished, and still less practicable would become the general limitation of armaments." Before that statement was issued, M. Briand had used more conciliatory language, so the statement presumably represented a victory for the Die-hard nationalists in the French Cabinet, such as M. Maginot.

On the other hand, there is the German case, which is also the case of Hungary, Bulgaria and Austria. It has been stated again and again by every German spokesman at Geneva, and was repeated as lately as November 2nd in a Note to the League. According to this Note, the task of the Disarmament Conference should be to achieve not merely stabilisation, but reduction of the armaments of the heavily armed countries, and this reduction "must proceed from the fundamental idea of equality of status and the equal right of all the signatory powers to national security." Equality of status! There is the crucial point. What matters is not solely the numerical disparity, enormous as that is, but also the difference of status. There is here a moral and psychological issue as well as a technical one. For the one-sided disarmament regime of Versailles (which was copied into the three other peace treaties) was imposed with the declared object of "rendering it impossible to resume her (Germany's) policy of military aggression." Germany was assumed to be morally different from her neighbours; and it is on that assumption that the French extremists base their claim for indefinite prolongation of the principle of inequality. As M. Maginot put it in a speech in the Chamber, "All nations cannot be placed on the same footing: it is just and necessary that the aggressors should undergo a more severe limitation than the nations who have not committed, and who refuse to commit, aggression." Still the old assumption of moral superiority, the old division of sheep from goats, leading to the conclusion that the one-sided regime of Versailles must be not temporary but enduring!

It is important that, if we are to play mediator between France and Germany in this matter, we should realise fully how far-reaching is the present inequality and how imperfect a remedy for that inequality is contemplated by the present draft Disarmament Convention. Perhaps there is no need to recall facts as to the numerical disparity, such facts, for instance, as that Germany may have no land artillery whatsoever except 84 howitzers of not more than 10.5 cm. calibre, and 204 field guns of not more than 7.7 cm., 288 small guns altogether, as compared with the vast and unlimited artillery of her neighbours. But what is worth recalling, since it is much less commonly realised, is the fact that the Versailles clauses go far beyond mere limitation of numbers. They prescribe the methods, and the periods, of enlistment for Germany's 100,000 soldiers; they lay down that there shall be no measures of mobilisation, no General Staff, no modernised fortifications, no armament industry except in a few factories approved by the Allies, and that the army may only be used for one purpose—the policing of the frontiers and maintenance of internal order. It may be that all these provisions were technically sound; it may be that they ought to be accepted all round; but the manifest fact is that there is not as yet a chance of such acceptance.

Turn now from the regime of Versailles to the regime contemplated in the draft Convention. Article 53 of the draft as it stands requires Germany, in effect, to reaffirm her acceptance of the Versailles clauses; she would be required formally to assent to the indefinite prolongation of a regime which she regards as temporary and conditional, and to do so irrespective of the amount of disarmament which the other Powers may accept for themselves. There are some inequalities which must presumably be accepted at this stage. Conscription, for example, ought not to be restored in Germany (and this has not been demanded by the Germans so far); but it seems idle to hope as yet for the abolition of conscription in the other continental countries, even though public opinion against conscription is probably growing in France. But there are other inequalities, contemplated in the draft Convention, which ought not to be tolerated. Most important of these is the inequality as regards the material of land war. Germany is drastically limited as regards every land weapon; she may have no heavy artillery or tanks; rifles and machine guns, ammunition, and reserve stocks are closely rationed; she may have no preparation for chemical war. The draft Convention, on the other hand, would leave the other Powers wholly unlimited in all these respects, except in so far as the separate limitation of expenditure on land material will impose a check. The Germans ask: "Why, if it was, and still is, right and practicable to prohibit heavy guns for us—weapons which cannot be quickly improvised or easily hidden—should it not be right and practicable to do so all round? Why should not the technical solution of this problem of disarmament be applicable to you as well as to the four Powers you disarmed, especially if there is to be a Permanent Disarmament Commission to watch over the fulfilment of the Disarmament Treaty?"

What ought British policy to be about this crucial issue? The Federation of League of Nations Societies, the League of Nations Union, all the Peace Societies in this country and in the U.S.A., the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the I.F.T.U. and Labour and Socialist International, the French Socialists—all these are agreed that the principle of equality in disarmament as between the "victorious" and the "vanquished" Powers should be recognised, that a substantial beginning of the application of that principle should be made by the 1932 Conference, and that the equalisation should be achieved, broadly speaking, by levelling down towards the German standard, not by levelling up. There is also a wide measure of agreement as to the application of the principle; we ought to stand for the all-round abolition of

the weapons prohibited for Germany, viz., warships over 10,000 tons, submarines, heavy artillery, tanks, preparation for chemical war, naval and military aviation. There should be reductions of personnel and period of service (all the peace societies have been discreetly vague about this complex subject). And there should be a substantial reduction—the League of Nations Societies suggest a round 25 per cent.—in the world's armament expenditure.

Why should not our Government make that policy its own? Three times during the London Naval Conference the late Government indicated its desire to see the great capital ship disappear from the fleets of the world. Only three countries (Britain, the U.S.A., and Japan) possess post-war battleships (if we exclude the "Deutschland"). Instead of replacing them in 1935, perhaps at a somewhat lower tonnage than at present, we ought definitely to propose their abolition, or, failing that, non-replacement. American big navy partisans would oppose, but I believe American public opinion would welcome abolition. Successive British Governments have urged abolition of the submarine (it would have obvious conveniences for us). The French at the London Conference indicated that one factor that might lead them to change their policy of retaining submarines would be the acceptance of the principle of Freedom of the Seas. Why should we not explicitly accept the Wilsonian Freedom of the Seas—not the chaotic pre-war compromise which went by that name—as a means of buying abolition of the submarine? So too with the air weapon. We ought to propose its abolition, with the development of civil aviation so far as possible on international lines. We ought to abandon not merely the use of chemical attack in war (as the draft provides), but also its preparation in peace-time. As Major Lefebure has shown, this is a practicable contribution to the prevention of sudden, fully equipped attack. There are special difficulties about abolition of tanks; but we cannot, I think, leave them prohibited for Germany and wholly unlimited for others except by budgetary means. If we cannot secure abolition, let us propose limitation all round, *e.g.*, a limit on numbers and on maximum tonnage.

I believe such a programme would represent a sound contribution towards the honouring of our pledges, the lightening of our burdens, and the reduction of danger of sudden war. If the British Government would stand for it courageously there would be a fair chance of getting at least a substantial part of it accepted. In any case, we should have made the way easier for those who come after.

For this Conference of 1932, the first of the kind, must lead quickly to full application of the principle of equality of status. Time is an essential element of this problem. This first Conference should at the least result in general recognition that inequality of status cannot be tolerated for long, even if it has to be tolerated in some degree during a few provisional years. Unless Europe crashes, the second World Disarmament Treaty will be very different from the first.

Meanwhile, the extent to which the principle of equality is applied in the first Treaty will depend very largely on the British contributions to armament reduction and on British loyalty to the principle that peace-building and war-prevention is a collective job.

If we could truthfully assure the French that the principle of collective security was truly accepted by us, then there would be better hope that the French would come to renounce something of that unstable supremacy on which they now rely. And unless we do soon—in 1932—achieve such a treaty as can be represented in Germany as a tolerable instalment of the principle of equality of status, then there is virtually no hope that Germany will continue to collaborate in the League's peace-building enterprise.

We have a great part to play. If only one could think that Sir John Simon, Lord Hailsham, Lord Londonderry, and Sir B. Eyres-Monsell were likely to play it!

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★ **F. C. BODEN was born in 1903 at Chesterfield, the son of a railway goods-porter. At the age of 13 he became a miner. His *Pit-head Poems*, published in 1927 with an Introduction by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, was widely acclaimed and secured the interest of the late Dr. Robert Bridges, through whom Mr. Boden was enabled to give up his work at the pit to study at Exeter University.**

DENT

SECURITY AND NAVAL DISARMAMENT

THERE can be no doubt that the great majority of people in this country desire to see a much more rapid progress in disarmament than has yet materialised since the war. It seems to me that no statesman can take any other view of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League than that it is a solemn obligation to promote disarmament by agreement as rapidly as possible. In fact, however, comparatively little progress has been made in such disarmament since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, and Germany, now a member of the League, may very well be expected to ask whether the other pledge or implied pledge of the Allies in the preamble to the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty is going to be honoured.

Writing as an ex-Minister with experience of the naval administration, I am bound to say that so far as any progress has been made it has been chiefly in the naval sphere. The Washington Treaty strictly limited the number and aggregate tonnage of capital ships, and at the London Naval Conference of five participating Powers agreement was reached for a naval holiday in capital ships until 1935. Moreover, the United States, Japan and ourselves, the three principal naval Powers, agreed to limitation in the numbers of ships and tonnages in every category, and as there was complete agreement arrived at upon technical questions, such as exempt and excepted vessels, gun calibre, and the like, if France and Italy could have been brought to an agreed ratio of strengths in relation to the other three powers, the naval position at the World Disarmament Conference would have been comparatively simple. The country with the largest responsibilities (that is, this country) could have made a proposition at once as to the percentage cut which we were willing to accept in all naval categories. This would, of course, have depended upon what was the view of the Government of the day as to the absolute minimum strength required to meet our commitments. But, personally, I believe that if there had been complete agreement arrived at as to ratios it would have been possible to propose a substantial percentage reduction.

The position now, however, is complicated. The agreement Mr. Henderson and myself secured in Rome last year, that Italy would not proceed to build up to parity with France and that she would accept for the time being the figures which we submitted to her from France, was not brought to completion in a legal tripartite agreement, and there can be no doubt, in my mind, that this was due to a failure at the last moment on the part of France. There is, therefore, no settled basis of ratio between the three principal naval Powers and France and Italy over the whole of their fleets as there is in the case of capital ship tonnage under the Washington Treaty. The naval position, therefore, at the opening of the World Disarmament Conference is a difficult one. It must be remembered that this country has reduced her tonnage of naval strength to about one-half of pre-war, and, instead of being on what is commonly known as the two-power standard, has acceded to the United States' claim for parity. The personnel of the fleet has been reduced enormously, so that it is now a little over 60 per cent. of the 1914 strength.

Whilst France did not build for some time after the war, her *Statut Navale* of 1923–24 lays down a programme which by 1942 will provide France with a fleet of a tonnage very little short of her actual completed tonnage in 1914. At the same time she has an air force of about three times our strength in front-line machines, and an enormous standing army, with great reserves under her conscript system, although, of course, with a shorter period of training than was formerly the case.

It should be borne in mind that the London Naval Treaty of 1930 contains an Escape Clause, and there is no doubt that if France persists in her present naval programme there is every technical ground for this country to take advantage of that clause, particularly in the destroyer category, having regard to the enormous building programme of France in submarines.

In the light of these facts the situation at the World Disarmament Conference needs to be very carefully handled. I hold the view that having regard to our world commitments, unless there is general and complete disarmament, we require an absolute minimum naval strength, but that absolute minimum is, of course, always qualified by the relative strengths of other Powers. If, therefore, we could start with agreed ratios between all the Powers concerned, I see no reason why we should not move by general percentage cuts. But the question is, "Will France agree to limit her naval strength to figures which are reasonable in relation to the figures adopted by the United States, Japan, and ourselves in London?"

And that brings me to what is really the biggest problem that the World Disarmament Conference has to face. The French attitude on disarmament is, vocally, strongly in favour, but in practice it is governed by the magic word "security." She refuses to make any really substantial reduction of arms until the other signatories to the Covenant have given such interpretations of Articles 8 and 16 of the Covenant as would, in her judgment, make her absolutely immune from attack. It was in endeavouring to satisfy that spirit that Italy and ourselves entered into the commitments of Locarno, which, in spite of the Briand-Kellogg pact on the outlawry of war, could, nevertheless, land us into a legal war. The point which I think needs to be stressed and fought out if real progress in disarmament is to be made is that Great Britain and certain other countries, having put their signatures to the League Covenant, to the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and to the Optional Clause, are prepared to take the risks involved in reducing armaments, relying upon the additional margin of safety secured by the various covenants, pacts and understandings.

France, up to the present, is not prepared to take that risk. In my view she is wrong, but the fact has to be faced. As far as one can see, France would be prepared to move if either (*a*) she could obtain another pact of the Locarno type which would give her what she considers to be security in the Mediterranean, or (*b*) could obtain from the members of the League a definite interpretation of Article 16 of the Covenant which would more certainly commit members of the League to participate in a League war against an aggressor. In my view to adopt the former policy would be wrong. Our responsibilities under the existing Locarno Pact are already great enough. It seems to me, therefore, that the Conference, if it is to make real progress in disarmament, will either have to find some form of words in connection with Article 16 which will satisfy France and spread over the whole of the members of the League any contingent liability therefrom, or must persuade France that if countries like Great Britain are prepared, if other countries will do the same, to take the risks of peace, in the light of the existing covenants and pacts, she ought to do the same.

There are, of course, minor matters on which some progress could be made, such as the reduction of the size of capital ships, but obviously these are minor questions. The real issue is—have the nations now provided themselves with sufficient alternative means of the settlement of disputes other than by appeal to the arbitrament of war? If so, there is no case against substantial progress being made in disarmament, but until *all* the Great Powers are persuaded of this no such real progress in disarmament will be made.

A. V. ALEXANDER.

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ECONOMY AND NAVAL DISARMAMENT

WHETHER or not armaments constitute a danger to peace—as some believe, though I do not—there is every possible reason to endeavour to make reductions in them for the pressing reason of economy. That reduction must, however (to use the words of Article VIII of the Covenant of the League), be consistent with national safety.

> Of all the public services the Navy is the one in which tampering may be of the greatest danger, which can worst be supplied on an emergency, and of which any failure draws after it the longest and heaviest train of consequences. I am far from saying that this or any other service ought not to be conducted with economy. But I will never suffer the sacred name of economy to be bestowed upon arbitrary defalcation of charge.

So wrote Edmund Burke in 1769, at a time when the demand for economy was so urgent, and money so much needed, that we tried to extract it from our colonists in North America; but so much had "the sacred name of economy" been abused that less than ten years later Burke's strictures were justified. The Navy, it was found, could not "be supplied on an emergency": its failure drew a train of consequences which those who choose to speculate in "ifs" can readily discern.

Various methods of obtaining reduction and its consequent economies have been paraded in recent years. There appear to me to be four of principal importance.

The first is what is termed "Freedom of the Seas." In no element in the naval problem has there been so little reasoned thought, reference to experience, or objective vision, or so much sheer misrepresentation of facts. Those who advocate this measure have not even been at the pains to come to an agreement as to what they mean by the terms. "Freedom" appears in different minds in a Protean variety of shapes. To some it means a sea as free in war as in peace. To others it means no more than immunity to the shipping of an adversary. Between these extremes there are all the permutations and variations of the retention and abolition of blockade, contraband, and capture.

A problem of this gravity is not thus lightly to be decided. It is not practicable to pick and choose which measures shall be abolished, which retained, to suit a national convenience. The fundamental problem is, whether the operations of what is called "war" shall be confined to slaughter—slaughter not only of men in the field of action, but also of civilian populations without regard to age, sex or occupation, and to accompany this the destruction of any monument of religion, art or science which may happen to stand in the line of fire. This doctrine of "freedom" abolishes that method of the use of force for the attainment of a national object which, in the words of Dana, "takes no lives, sheds no blood, imperils no households, and deals only with the persons and property voluntarily embarked in the chances of war for the purposes of gain and with the protection of insurance."

We are advised that, if "freedom" comes, we can reduce sea-armaments. But we are not told what guarantees we shall receive that the agreement will be respected, when an even greater agreement—not to go to war—has been broken, nor why it is supposed that prohibitions at sea will be respected, while in the air they will not.

The second course lies in the reduction of numbers. In this matter Britain is not in a position to assist. The numbers of vessels to which recent conferences have limited her are below the figures which all experienced men who have made a serious study of the problem consider necessary for safety. How little the question is understood is illustrated in the Memorandum issued by the Government on February 4th, 1930 (Cmd. 3485), in which the statement is made that the size and tonnage of the destroyer class so much depends upon the submarine programmes of other Powers that if those programmes are reduced the British destroyer tonnage can be reduced. A more complete misconception of the determining factors in the quantity of this class of small cruiser it would be difficult to imagine. It leaves wholly out of account the foreign tonnage of the same type of vessel; it takes no cognisance of the fact that the number of cruising vessels required is primarily determined by the number of places in which they have to act—a factor unaffected by the number of a single class of vessel, whether the submarine or any other. In these lightly made proposals there is complete oblivion to all the hardly learnt lessons of the past, even those bitter and costly ones of a bare fifteen years ago. To pretend that it is possible simultaneously to make yet further reductions in the cruising classes ("cruisers" and "destroyers") and to fulfil the obligation to the people that reductions shall be "consistent with national safety," is grossly to mislead the nation.

The third possible course is to make reductions in the size of the fighting ships themselves. Here there is no question whatever that, from a purely "military" outlook, there is ample room for reductions and consequent economy. There are neither strategical nor tactical reasons for ships of the sizes that were adopted at the Conference at Washington. The conduct of war at sea, in none of its phases, demands ships of so great a size as 35,000 tons; the duties which "cruisers" have to perform do not demand a size of 10,000 tons. No such sizes were needed during the war, nor did the experience of the war demonstrate any new needs. The real reason for these sizes lies in the fact that they were determined under the shadow of purely technical events. A battle had been fought during the war in which certain injuries had been inflicted, and the technical departments of the Admiralty had been absorbed in the study of how to protect ships against similar injuries in the future. It was accepted as axiomatic that a ship called a "battleship" must be armed with 16in. guns, and that she must possess a certain number of those weapons; and, as her opponent would be similarly armed, she must be armoured sufficiently to give protection against the blows she would receive. The validity of any conclusion depends upon the correctness of the premise. In this case the premise was incorrect. It is not axiomatic that a ship must carry a certain gun.

Riddled though this theory of the necessity of the great ship has been, certain authorities still adhere to it. They do not argue—perhaps wisely they refrain on the principle that "*La meilleure des preuves est de n'en pas avoir: c'est la seule que l'on ne discute pas.*" For there are no proofs. In place of them we are offered assertions such as "the battleship is the backbone of the fleet" or "the battleship is the strongest fighting instrument at sea"; but these afford no evidence that ships are necessary of the monstrous size—and cost—of those to which the nations have been committed by the technicians in gunnery or torpedo.

One cannot but ask, Are the German recently constructed ships of 10,000 tons capable of performing the duties which battleships have to perform? Can they fight "battles" with other ships of their own size? Can they go where battles may have to be fought? Have they speed enough to do that which they may have to do? There is no doubt as to the answer. Ships of any size whatever can fight battles. These ships can go wherever they might be needed by any nation—they have, in fact, a greater zone of action than the ships of over three times their size; and they are faster than those ships. As to the cruisers, the German cruisers of 6,000 tons can do all that cruisers have to do, precisely as the British cruisers of less than that size were able to perform all their duties during the war. In fact, none of the reasons for maintaining these great sizes, whether as battleship or cruiser, will stand the test of scientific and practical strategical experience.

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GIOVANNI ENGELY

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The fourth possible course of reduction is that of peace establishment. In this matter all navies have been caught up in the same flood, all deeming it necessary to be ready at an instant's notice. Whereas our ancestors—not ours only in this country, but those of the other maritime peoples—ensured economy in peace by keeping in active commission only such numbers, or such types, of vessels as were needed to perform the duties which national security in peace demanded, we of to-day keep larger numbers. The conditions are admittedly different. The complicated instrument of to-day is useless without men trained in its use. But it is to be remarked that the need for experience on board the ship increases with the size. The simpler the apparatus the more rapidly the men can accustom themselves to its handling.

Our methods of economy are, in fact, the precise opposite to those in the past. Those not inexperienced statesmen and seamen first provided the country with the material—ships—in the numbers it would need, keeping as much as possible to medium-sized ships of the line and small frigates. Then, in peace, they kept only a few frigates in commission at a very small cost. We reverse this process. We cut down the material needs below what would be needed if the occasion should arise. We concentrate on the largest-sized battleships and cruisers (though on this last we have recently modified our outlook of 1921), and in peace we keep all the battleships in commission at a very considerable cost. Truly, we cannot afford to be less ready than others. But is it not within the bounds of possibility that all could relinquish some degree of readiness? For readiness, like many another thing, is a purely relative matter. When, for example, the German naval law was introduced, which put about four-fifths of the German navy in commission in peace, a similarly increased readiness became necessary on our side. But it had not been necessary until then.

H. W. Richmond.

THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMAMENTS

WITHIN the triangle enclosed between the House of Commons, Trafalgar Square and Victoria Station lies the administrative centre of Britain's armament industry. It might almost be said that Victoria Street is as important in the study of disarmament and journalism as Fleet Street is in the study of journalism and disarmament.

Vickers-Armstrong, Ltd., and the many other firms which constitute Vickers, Ltd., occupy an imposing suite of offices in Broadway, overlooking Caxton Hall, the scene of many Disarmament meetings. In the windows of Vickers a giant torpedo-carrying aeroplane gazes across at its portrait—the military aviation disarmament poster which, ironically enough, decorates the railings of Christchurch.

Near by are the offices of William Beardmore & Co., Ltd., armour-plate and armament manufacturers, and within the shadow of Westminster Abbey are two other extremely important firms, manufacturing among other things naval armaments—Cammell Laird & Co., Ltd., and Thos. Firth & John Brown, Ltd. Between them, appropriately enough, is the Navy League. In sight of the House of Commons stands the modern building of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., the biggest chemical concern in the world, and a combine which has a virtual monopoly of manufactures essential in time of warfare.

Around London a network of aviation firms—of ever-increasing importance in modern warfare—is to be found. De Havilland at Stag Lane, the Fairey Aviation Company of Hayes, and the H. G. Hawker Engineering Company at Kingston are examples.

The proximity of armament firms to the House of Commons and Whitehall is not an inconvenience. Private firms have to obtain orders, and it is the function of the House of Commons eventually to sanction expenditure on armaments. That is not all. Great Britain leads the whole world in the value of her armament exports—in 1929 it was 34 per cent. of the world's total. Even death has to be licensed, and armament firms have to obtain export permits from the Board of Trade. Mr. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, in reply to a question in the House of Commons last December, said that his department, in granting these licences, was "guided in this matter by the advice of the Foreign Office and the Service Departments." On another occasion Sir John Simon gave the following interesting information: "In approving the issue of licences to export arms and ammunition to foreign countries, the Foreign Office is entirely actuated by the consideration as to whether such action would in any way affect the friendly relations of His Majesty's Government with the foreign Powers concerned." Armament export is therefore, in part at least, a reflection of the Government's foreign policy.

Armaments, which are admittedly one of the causes of war, are manufactured by private firms for private profits. Behind them are their thousands of shareholders—politicians and publicists, titled persons and humble people in all stations of life. A successful Disarmament Conference would mean, in this country, a direct reduction in the income of leading Members of Parliament, of Cabinet Ministers, of clergymen (who figure in exceptional numbers as shareholders in armament firms), and of all that varied group of people who constitute an "armaments class." War or rumours of war send up the price of shares and increase the dividends. Even in the armed peace since the war leading armament firms have combined, after a great writing down of capital (the index of their war development) to produce substantial profits, whilst other industries have experienced depression. The Fairey Aviation Company—one of the leading aviation firms—for example, has made a record profit for 1931 and has increased its dividends from 7 per cent. to 10 per cent.

One of the reasons why even a reduction of armaments would be worth while is that it would lessen the power of this vested interest in war. As long as armaments are manufactured for private profits, firms will secure orders, and the vested interest of this armaments class will remain. Well-known scandals in the past, such as the "We want eight and we won't wait" scandal in England before the war and the Shearer case in America—to quote only two examples—have exposed some of the activities of these armament combines and the extent to which they are prepared to go in building up a successful industry in arms. Recent events in France have shown that, as far as that country is concerned, support in the French press for the Japanese invasion and occupation of Manchuria is the price which has been paid for armament contracts. This alliance between armament firms and the press in France is no new thing. It is well known that the President of the Comité des Forges, on which all the big armament firms are represented, has a controlling interest in two of the best-known French papers, the *Journal des Debats* and the *Temps*.

Propaganda of this kind is almost inevitable as long as the manufacture of armaments is carried on for the profit of an investing class anxious to secure high dividends for its money. If armaments manufacturers were under State control, the non-social interests of this class would be largely removed and the future of disarmament would give more grounds for optimism. Competition in armaments—admittedly a serious cause of war—would probably become relatively slack, and armaments would become a part of

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2. That armament firms have attempted to bribe Government Officials both at home and abroad.
3. That armament firms have disseminated false reports concerning the military and naval programmes of various countries in order to stimulate armament expenditure.
4. That armament firms have sought to influence public opinion through the control of newspapers in their own and foreign countries.

Suggestions were made at that time which, if carried out, would have meant a considerable degree of State control of armaments manufacture. Subsequently tentative proposals were put forward in 1924 and 1926, when a Special Commission was set up to draft a Convention for the Supervision of the Private Manufacture and Publicity of the Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War. This subject is included in the draft Convention, and any serious proposals for disarmament must deal with the problem of the private manufacture of arms.

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It is not my object here to deal with the characteristics of future battles between organised combatants. We are concerned with one particular and vital aspect of the matter. Foch, as a world military leader, and as a philosopher of war, has shown repeatedly that the next great war will see, as its first objective, a fierce mass attack upon the lives, the morale, the property and the nerve centres of organisation of the peoples as distinct from the armies. It is the millions of civilians, as such, who will provide the cannon-fodder. There is no need to argue this claim, it is agreed by all the great military staffs.

What weapons would be used? Until the new physical or ray warfare, now on the horizon of armament, becomes a practical matter, we are still concerned in principle with the carrier or projector and the casualty-producer or projectile. It is now a commonplace that the main projectors will be aircraft, and the casualty-producers will be bombs of explosive, poison and possibly disease germs. The aeroplane becomes nothing more nor less than an extremely efficient high-calibre gun with a performance in terms of range, mobility, charge and casualty production, several thousand times as great as that of the most efficient known artillery. One fundamental conclusion must be stated. The carrier, the aeroplane, *can* reach its civilian objective. All the known technical facts compel this conclusion, and all the very thorough large-scale military tests on the defence of towns against aircraft at London, Nancy, New York and elsewhere have proved it. Great towns, five hundred miles away from enemy depots, can be flooded with thousands of tons of deadly explosives and chemicals in a few hours. It is certain that development at its present rate will increase this range to more than a thousand miles. It is very doubtful indeed whether America is exempt from these conclusions.

Let us look at some of the plain facts. Experiments, notably American, have shown the terrific effects—the enormous volumes of dead earth which can be disrupted by the great modern aeroplane bomb. Translate these results into effects on structures, a great town block instead of an open field, and we find, beyond any shadow of doubt, that a few thousand bombs of this sort could generally destroy, and entirely disorganise for long periods, the working centres of London or Paris. This synthetic earthquake could only be equalled by one of nature's worst convulsions. But this is only a fraction of the story. What are the poison possibilities which will undoubtedly follow explosives in the new weapon tactics? Sweep aside at once all the comforting claims of the low mortality of gas as revealed by war statistics. Analysis shows them to be false as an indication for the future; but I have no space to repeat the exposure which I have made elsewhere. We only need to consider one fact. The human objective would be unprotected.

During the war soldiers caught unawares, or without masks, or without the highest gas discipline, suffered horribly. The mortality in different attacks varied from 40 to 70 per cent. In April, 1916, the Germans made a gas attack on the British front. We had manned "The Kink," a forward trench about fifty yards from the German line. After the attack "The Kink" was silent, no runners came back to report. Supports moved up and found almost every man dead, although helmets were properly adjusted.

The civilian objective would be unprotected, because each step in the system to give it protection represents a colossal feat of industry and organisation beyond human powers. I need simply mention the manufacture, constant testing and frequent replacement of at least twenty million masks for the town dwellers of a great country, the training of these millions to that point of discipline without which we know the mask is useless, the difficulty of doing this with women, children and infirm when contrasted with our efforts with fit men under orders during the war. Add the extreme uncertainty that a reasonable percentage of, say, the inhabitants of London would be within reach of their protection at any given time, and the fact that the building of underground shelters would cost some hundreds of millions of pounds, and the difficulty is exposed.

The cold picture reveals hundreds of thousands of people killed within a few hours by gases such as phosgene, many of them already mutilated in the explosive earthquake. No services could take effect, no survivors move to assistance for several days, without meeting the persistent gas types such as mustard and the arsenic compounds, making the body an open wound, life an agony and the future intolerable. This is no exaggeration, for the cold medical evidence in the official records is far worse. It leaves no doubt that the event we have pictured would represent a shambles, mass mutilation and atrocity, such as the world has never seen nor contemplated.

These are undoubtedly possibilities on the basis of war chemicals known and used, with their physiological effects proved at the end of the war. Even if the nations have marked time since then it cannot be doubted that wide further development is possible. If this development remains unchecked more and worse surprises are in store, not only introducing new and fearful types of civilian casualties, but adding still further to the practical impossibility of giving protection, because the new chemical enemy will be unknown.

Ignore my conclusion for the moment, that protection is impracticable. We see what it involves, protective equipment and discipline for the tens of millions, the passing of little children and women as a part of their daily life through gas chambers to test their masks and to give them a fraction of the required morale; the spending of some thousands of millions of pounds in, say, ten years, or as soon as possible in each great country for the proper organisation of protection. If we are refused international measures of disarmament to safeguard this matter, let us realise that the above steps will be necessary. The logical conclusion of the purely military solution cannot be avoided, although it has not yet been faced. Financial considerations will

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prevent real protection, but something will have to be done, and it will in any case be terribly costly and have a profoundly undesirable effect upon the mentality of the peoples. They will live in that same constant readiness for war which is the proper condition of an organised army. Are we content to adopt this type of solution, even to regard it as one; and if not, what can be done?

For twelve years the peoples have financed the official movement to the tune of millions of pounds to find solutions to this menace, through disarmament. The result is the draft Convention, which prohibits the use of the new chemical weapons in war, but only subject to reciprocity. This and the official debates show that reprisals are contemplated, preparation is permitted, civilian defence is fundamental, and in other words all the possibilities indicated above are introduced. This is not disarmament. On the question of aircraft, the carrier, it is still free, within limits not yet stated, for its warfare on civilians. There are hopes of schemes of international control coupled with elimination of military aircraft, but they remain only hopes. On the chemical side the need is obvious, disarmament *in the field of preparation* of the new warfare. Eliminate preparations and the weapon will not be ready when wanted, for months or years. But to do this, to find solutions in this direction, preparation must be understood, the nature of its different steps must be known, and disarmament measures governed thereby. In 1930 the Report attached to the draft Convention invited the nations to study this question of preparation and to suggest measures to check it.

I leave my readers with three questions. Why have statesmen waited twelve years to investigate this vital matter when the peoples fondly thought that it was being steadily pursued in their interests? What have the individual nations done, particularly our own, since 1930 and in preparation for the Disarmament Conference, to remedy this terrible defect? What is the hope that the Disarmament Conference, through its central organisation, and its national experts, is at last equipped to look at this matter in an intelligent and adequate technical fashion? I could answer the first question in detail and show from official records how the whole matter has been muddled and fogged by inadequate organisation, error and inattention. But I have no space for this and do not wish to criticise or recriminate. Let us hope that Governments will now do justice to their peoples in this matter.

V. Lefebure.

POSTERS

A number of interesting posters, some of them showing that real poster technique is at length being used for peace propaganda, are being issued by the League of Nations Union, the National Peace Council, and the Friends Peace Committee. We are reproducing on page 131 five posters which were entered in the Schools Disarmament Posters Competition organised by Viscount Cecil. The centre design in the top row was the first prize winner. The two outside posters in the bottom row are issued by the League of Nations Union and the centre one by the National Peace Council.

BOOKS ABOUT DISARMAMENT

JUST PUBLISHED

Peace and Disarmament. By Léon Blum, with an Introduction by Robert Dell. Cape. 7s. 6d.

This is a book of great importance. It contains the recent utterances on disarmament and kindred subjects by the leader of the Socialist Party in France. M. Léon Blum analyses the system of military alliances, and boldly declares that the formula accepted by French Socialists is "Security through Arbitration and Disarmament." M. Blum's refusal to accept the doctrine that further guarantees of security are a necessary preliminary to disarmament and his insistence that security would follow from disarmament explode the idea that the kept Paris press and the Quai d'Orsay are generally representative of French opinion.

Disarmament and Security Since Locarno (1925-31). By John W. Wheeler-Bennett, with an Introduction by Major-General Sir Neil Malcolm, K.C.B. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

Here is the latest and most authoritative statement of the political and technical background of the Disarmament Conference. The latest addition to Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's indispensable series.

The Disarmament Conference. By W. Arnold Forster. National Peace Council. 9d.

A wonderful job. Lucid, brief, comprehensive.

A Letter to an M.P. on Disarmament. By Viscount Cecil. Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.

The simple case for disarmament persuasively put.

The Progress of Disarmament, 1930-2. With analysis of the Draft Convention. Royal Institute of International Affairs. 2s.

World Peace and Armaments. By A. N. Jacobs. Hutchinson. 5s.

The Dragon's Teeth: A Study of War and Peace. By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. Constable. 10s.

Real Disarmament. By Dr. H. Kirchhoff. King. 6d.

The Politics of Naval Disarmament. By E. Engely. Williams and Norgate. 15s.

The United States and Disarmament. By B. H. Williams. Magraw-Hill. 15s.

The Soviets and the Next War. By R. D. Charques. Secker. 3s. 6d.

SELECT LIST

World Disarmament. By N. Fanshawe. L.N.U. 1s. 6d.

Disarmament. By P. Noel Baker. Hogarth Press. 12s. 6d.

Scientific Disarmament. By Major V. Lefebure. Gollancz. 5s.

Economics of Naval Security. By Admiral Sir H. Richmond. Benn. 8s. 6d.

Disarmament. By S. de Madariaga. Oxford University Press. 15s.

Economic Disarmament. By I. H. Richardson, Ph.D. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

Armaments Expenditure of the World, 1928. The *Economist*. 6d.

Arms and Arbitration. By H. Wilson Harris. Hogarth Press. 6d.

Freedom of the Seas. By J. M. Kenworthy. Hutchinson. 18s.

Naval Disarmament. By H. W. Harris. Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d.

Naval Disarmament. By H. Latimer. Royal Institute of International Affairs. 3s. 6d.

What Disarmament Means. By Vernon Bartlett. L.N.U. 1d.

New Wars: New Weapons. By J. M. Kenworthy. Mathews and Marrot. 3s. 6d.

The Problem of the XXth Century. By David Davies. Benn. 21s.

What Would be the Character of a New War? King. 16s.

An inquiry organised by the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Chemical Warfare. A Report of the Frankfurt Conference of the W.I.L. on Modern Methods in War. Williams and Norgate. 2s.

Can War be Averted? By Sir Leo Chiozza Money. Thornton Butterworth. 10s. 6d.

Will Disarmament Increase Unemployment? By Sir Norman Angell. No More War Movement. 2d.

Survey of International Affairs. By Arnold Toynbee. Oxford University Press. 21s.

The volumes of this survey covering 1927–8 and 1929–30 give a clear and impartial summary of the progress of disarmament discussions at Geneva and elsewhere.

* * *

The League of Nations through their agents in this country, Messrs. Allen and Unwin, has made it possible to buy all the League documents and periodicals published on disarmament for an all-inclusive subscription of £3 a year.

The most authoritative year book on disarmament is the *Armaments Year Book* (20s.) which contains information on the Armies, Navies, Air Forces and armaments expenditure of sixty-two countries.

Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference (20s.) contains a complete background of the Conference; *Ten Years of World Co-operation* (10s.), the autobiography of the first ten years of the League, with a preface by Sir Eric Drummond, is by far the best book of its kind; and *Jane's Fighting Ships*, *Jane's All the World's Aircraft* and *Brassey's Naval and Shipping Annual* give each year a complete, accurate and detailed survey of the world's aircraft and navies. The *Peace Year Book* (1931) is a survey of the Peace Movement in this country, with a preface to the section on disarmament by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson.

During the Conference, a *Journal* containing programmes and agenda, and a *Verbatim Record* of previous meetings will be published daily by the Union of Democratic Control (monthly subscription, 7s. 6d. each).

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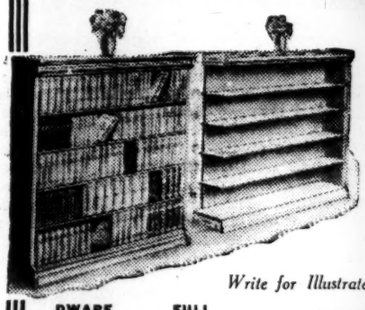

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COMPANY MEETING

WESTMINSTER BANK

SATISFACTORY PROFITS IN YEAR OF DEPRESSION

ADDRESS OF THE HON. RUPERT E. BECKETT

The annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Westminster Bank, Limited, was held on Wednesday last at the Head Office, Lothbury, E.C. The Hon. Rupert E. Beckett (chairman) presided.

As to the bank's balance sheet, current and deposit accounts were down on the year by just over £19 millions. The fall in deposits had not been peculiar to their bank, the decline over the year of 6½ per cent. comparing with a drop of 8 per cent. for the "Big Five." This diminution in the bank's trading funds had obviously affected its capacity to earn profits. Advances to customers were practically unchanged, but the low rates ruling for the greater part of the year naturally had their effect upon this particular profit-earning item.

Investment Depreciation

He then referred to the considerations which had led the board to deal with the depreciation in the market value of their investments—he hoped a temporary decline—by means of a transfer from the reserve fund of £1,820,157, thus bringing the investments into the balance sheet at or below market value. The board, he explained, had decided to follow this course rather than draw upon the inner reserves of the bank for the purpose of meeting the investment depreciation. Their funds for contingencies were to-day as large as when the shareholders last met. During this current year gilt-edged securities had continued to improve, and a substantial portion of the depreciation for which provision had been made had been already recovered.

Bank's Appropriations

The profit for the year, he said, amounted to £1,601,822, a diminution of £220,066, or 12.1 per cent. Considering all things, and bearing in mind the decline in current and deposit accounts, these results, he thought, might be deemed satisfactory. They were paying 18 per cent. for the year. Over the past thirteen years 20 per cent. had been distributed consistently on the partly paid shares. It was with reluctance that the board decided to depart from the standard that had prevailed so long, but in view of the diminution of profits and the general state of uncertainty, no other course would have been compatible with the usual conservatism of their banking practice.

World's Economic Position

Proceeding, the chairman reviewed the recent trend of those broad economic and financial tendencies which, he said, had left no country, no institution, no individual, unaffected by their grave development.

In his judgment, what had been called the "gold crisis" arose in a large measure from the fact that gold had been required to fulfill a purpose for which it was never designed. Gold was a token of exchange: it was the international counter, accepted by the nations as a standard, through which variations in the quantity and value of goods and services passing from country to country could be adjusted. Gold should therefore be the instrument of commerce. It should not be regarded as a commodity of commerce; yet in these post-War years the nations had tended so to treat it. The connection between the maldistribution of gold and international payments was abundantly clear.

Explanation of Present Crisis

The troubles which we faced to-day were due not to the events of 1930 nor to the developments of 1931; their origin lay farther back. Out of the Great War came not only inevitable poverty and burdens, but, even more formidable, the spirit and policy of narrow nationalism begotten of war fever. The results were the creation of vast inter-governmental debts requiring the transference of huge sums from nation to nation without any relation to the trade passing between them, and the erection at the same time of trade barriers, so dear to nationalistic aspirations, which effectively impeded that very flow of commerce through which alone such a huge scheme of international obligations might conceivably have been carried out. The vital fact in the history of 1931 was that the breaking point arrived. In the early months of the summer the bankruptcy of Central Europe became by general recognition a matter of weeks, and the whole credit system of Europe tottered on the edge of a precipice. At that critical moment there came a most welcome promise of relief from across the Atlantic in the shape of President Hoover's suggestion of a year's complete holiday from all War Debt payments. Here at last was a hope of the beginning of international co-operation such as might solve the deep economic problems of the world. But seven or eight months had passed, and the hope of full co-operation had once more been deferred. The Congress of the United States had effectively checked President Hoover's international aspirations, and that great creditor country had moved with alarming rapidity back towards the policy of isolation which was first so emphatically manifested in the repudiation of President Wilson by his people. Congress, and, apparently, American public opinion, would not at the moment stand either for debt cancellation or even for a prolongation of the Hoover moratorium. France clung to her rights to receive Reparations from Germany. Germany, whose ability to pay Reparations had depended largely upon the constant flow of American investment, found that that flow had ceased entirely.

There was another aspect of the general position. In face of the world-wide economic depression, almost every country found itself threatened not only with an unbalanced Budget, but also with an unfavourable movement in the balance of payments. There were two ways of rectifying the unfavourable movement in the balance of payments. One was to increase exports, and the other to decrease imports. The first and preferable method was precluded to countries living among neighbours whose tariff walls rose higher and higher, and, therefore, throughout Europe the latter course had been pursued. This country had been compelled to impose customs duties for the protection of her home industries. It must be borne in mind, however, that one country's imports were another's exports, and to restrict one obviously restricted the other. If this development were carried to excess, international trade would be threatened with extinction. Every decrease in exports rendered it more difficult for a country to obtain the means whereby to meet external obligations, and nearly every Government had been compelled to weave a web of exchange restrictions, which in their turn added another hampering difficulty to the passage of commerce.

A Pertinent Question

That, roughly, was the situation which we faced to-day. How was this vicious circle to be broken? If Washington persisted in her present policy of War Debts maintenance and high tariffs, what were the means by which Europe could conceivably continue to meet her liabilities? It would be possible if America resumed large-scale lending to Europe; but even if that were done we should sooner or later again reach the *impasse*, now evident in Germany, by which a debtor country, grown dependent on loans from the creditor, found that the onset of suspicion and distrust at a crucial moment dried up the capital flow upon which her solvency depended. In economic theory there was another method. The industrial nations of Europe, by depressing their standard of life far below that to which they were accustomed, might be able to produce goods which would surmount any tariff barrier. But that possibility existed in economic theory alone. It was no more likely that the American public, or any other, would allow such an inflow of cheaply produced goods to continue than that the democracies of Europe would submit to a strain which would involve the abandonment of every social advance laboriously won during centuries of progress. To those arguments one might perhaps add a question—and he added it because current problems could not usefully be examined except in the light of economic and political probabilities. Was it likely that the democratically elected parliament of this country, or of France, or of Belgium, would vote the passage of a Budget, on the expenditure side of which figured full War Debt payments to America, while from the revenue side were deleted all receipts from War debtors? It was for the statesman and not for the banker to answer that question. But he might be permitted a further query, and it was this: If, as President Hoover avowed in his recent message to Congress, the grave economic and financial troubles with which the United States was at present beset arose from the great depression which had engulfed the outside world, how was it possible for the United States to achieve the ambition of many of her present legislators, namely, to seek her individual prosperity through the policy of insular isolation?

Great Britain and War Debts

In this matter of War Debts our country and our successive Governments had nothing to be ashamed of. Britain early proposed to America the cancellation of all the War Debts between the Allies. America refused. It therefore became necessary to attempt settlements of those vast international obligations, and in those settlements Britain had been more than generous to her debtors. Indeed, she remitted approximately 70 per cent. of the debts to her incurred by her War allies, whereas the remission made by America to Great Britain in respect of the Anglo-American debt was something less than 18 per cent. Then again, having failed to carry the policy of all-round cancellation, this country declared, in the Balfour note, that Britain would not take from her Continental debtors more than she was required to pay to America. This declaration had been firmly adhered to; in fact, Britain had so far paid away nearly £200 millions more than she had received. Into the reconsideration of this problem, which economic forces had thrust upon the world, our country undoubtedly entered in a strong position and with a clean record.

Elimination of War Debts and Reparations would not, he said, create a new heaven upon earth. Our colossal internal debt, our burdensome taxation would remain, whilst certain of our commercial and industrial competitors would have secured relief from their already comparatively light obligations.

International problems should not render the nation oblivious to measures of self-help within our own sphere of action. Detailing what had been accomplished in the way of restoration of national confidence, the chairman said that weaknesses had certainly been revealed, and, perhaps, over-emphasised. Great Britain yet occupied a position which challenged comparison, financial and economic, and in its fundamental attributes of character, with that of any other nation in the world.

Team-work was as necessary to-day in our national affairs as ever it was. The year's events had served very definitely to demonstrate an even greater need—for the spirit of co-operation to be extended to the wider, *international* sphere.

The report and accounts were adopted and other formal business transacted.

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COMPANY MEETING

NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK LTD.

SPEECH OF SIR HARRY GOSCHEN, BART., K.B.E.

The annual general meeting of the National Provincial Bank Limited was held on Thursday last at Southern House, E.C.

Sir Harry Goschen, Bart., K.B.E., the chairman, who presided, after referring to the deaths of Mr. FitzGerald and Sir George Marjoribanks (directors) and of Mr. D. J. Cunnick, Mr. E. T. Laine, and Mr. G. H. Shipley, said (in part):

Our branches and agencies now number 1,374. The paid-up capital remains at £9,479,416, but we have transferred from the reserve fund a sum of £1,479,416 to investments depreciation fund, leaving the reserve fund at £8,000,000.

The current, deposit, and other accounts stand at £261,503,042, being £30,702,525 less than the corresponding figures twelve months ago. During the same period there was a contraction in the monthly averages of the deposits of the clearing banks for December, 1931, amounting to £139,000,000, compared with December, 1930.

On the assets side the amount of cash in hand and with the Bank of England represents slightly over 11 per cent. of our deposits.

Our investments are also lower, the reduction being over £5,400,000.

The investments in the affiliated banks stand at £868,750, showing a reduction amounting to £50,000 in the values at which they have been taken. Our investments in subsidiary companies are the same at £2,514,000.

Advances to customers show a reduction of slightly over £7,000,000.

Turning to the profit and loss account, it will be seen that the net profit is £1,747,007 against £1,930,854 for the previous year.

Including the sum of £673,814 brought forward from last year, the accounts show an amount available for distribution of £2,420,822. The sum of £758,353 has already been applied in payment of the interim dividend in July last. We have allotted £100,000 to our pension fund, and, after providing for a final dividend of 8 per cent., making 16 per cent. for the year, there remains £804,115 to be carried forward to the next account. The dividend declared represents a fall of 2 per cent. compared with the dividends which have been paid since 1924.

In reviewing conditions in our industries in 1931, we find little cause for satisfaction. The world-wide fall in wholesale prices which had been such a marked feature in 1930 has continued, and industrial activity, not only in the United Kingdom, but throughout the world, has been greatly curtailed. The difficult financial situation and exchange position of many countries led to measures such as the prohibition of imports, exchange regulations, and many forms of restriction, each of which has added to the already serious dislocation in international trade. Under the conditions ruling throughout the year, with one crisis following another, there was little, until the late autumn, to give encouragement to industry and commerce in this country.

When the financial events of the summer forced the Government to suspend the gold standard it was hoped that some of the serious consequences would be partially offset by an improvement in export trade arising from the fall in the sterling exchange. There have been, however, many factors which have prevented any revival of international trade. It has been extremely difficult to conduct business operations in view of the general uncertainty, lack of confidence, and restrictions in free dealing in exchange. At present our great basic industries, such as coal, iron and steel, engineering and shipbuilding, have shown little response to the new situation. The textile trades have actually experienced some definite improvement. As a consequence of the decision of the Government to suspend the gold standard, followed by the introduction of the anti-dumping duties, wool values rose 20 per cent. to 25 per cent., machinery activity increased, and the position of manufacturers, woolcombers, and spinners improved. Whilst this improvement is welcome, it has yet to be seen, of course, whether or not the present activity is only a temporary phase.

In the case of the cotton industry the immediate effect of the depreciation in sterling was an inflow of orders from the home trade, and in addition many export houses found that they were able to recapture some of their lost foreign markets.

A number of other industries have also derived material benefit from the depreciation in sterling, notably the boot and shoe trade and the hosiery trade.

The past year has certainly been the most momentous, and in some ways the most disastrous, since the war, both for this country and for the rest of the world.

But out of these disastrous events our country has been able to achieve changes in its position and outlook that give us good grounds for hope and confidence, if only international statesmanship can apply the needful remedies to the appalling situation in which Europe stands to-day. Under a hail of misfortunes we have righted our ship, cleared our decks, and set a new course with new officers in command, in whom the whole country has confidence. The fall in the pound, deplorable as it is in many respects, has given us, at least for a time, an exchange advantage that should enable our industries to compete with success whenever there is any recovery in the buying power of our overseas customers.

From the point of view of the City, the fact that the pound sterling is no longer a gold pound is naturally the most momentous event of the year. We can claim in the first place that it was forced upon us by external influences, and was not due to any weaknesses in our banking methods, and, in the second, that we did our very utmost to prevent it. The Chairman then described the events which led to the suspension of the gold standard and the great efforts made in defence of the pound. Continuing, he said:

Those who criticised our return to the gold standard at the old parity in 1925 have been claiming that they were right. These contentions ignore the chief reason why the London money market, and public opinion throughout the country, favoured our return to the old parity. This country returned to gold at the old parity as a matter of common honesty. England, having been left in charge of large sums by foreigners, had to make an effort to pay them back, if they wanted their money, in pounds as good as they had deposited here. It may have been a quixotic action on our part, but most of us who believe that England's reputation as an honest banker was an asset above all price will agree that the effort was well worth making, though it has failed now, after years of harassing endeavour, owing to pressure of external events.

The British banks and their customers have thus every right to be proud of one another for the way in which this crisis has been met, and it gives us confidence in facing the great effort that the nation has to make in overcoming, and helping other countries to overcome, the terrible difficulties that lie in the path to recovery.

With a strong and resolute Government in power, and with all classes alive to the need for determined effort, we have no need to fear that we shall not surmount our present difficulties in so far as the action of this country can ensure success. The steadiness of our internal prices, in spite of the fall in the pound, shows that the policy of economy, glibly criticised as it has been in some quarters, has kept us from stepping on the slippery slope of inflation with its *facilis descensus Averno*.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

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